

John F. Litchman

17-10-28.

THE CHURCH



THE "DEESIS"

See Preface

THE CHURCH

Papers from the Summer School of Catholic
Studies held at Cambridge, August 6—15, 1927

Edited by

THE REV. C. LATTEY, S.J.

(M.A., OXON.)

New Testament Professor at Heythrop College, Oxon.,
Editor of *The Westminster Version of the Sacred Scriptures*,
of *The Religion of the Scriptures*, etc.

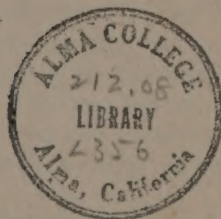
Property of

CLgA

Please return to

Graduate Theological

Union Library



CAMBRIDGE

W. HEFFER & SONS LTD

1928

24753

NIHIL OBSTAT

G. H. JOYCE, S.I.

Censor deputatus

IMPRIMATUR

✠ DUDLEY CAROLUS

Epus. Northantoniensis

Die 5^o Martii, 1928.

Printed in England

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

CHRIST Our Lord has equipped His Church with powers that are well summed up under three heads, *viz.*, the power of teaching, of government, of order. These powers are also rights and duties, coming from Himself as an all-sufficient source. The power of teaching is that of setting forth the truth to all mankind, and finds its ultimate guarantee in the infallibility of the Church and of the Pope. The 'Church Teaching,' that is to say, the body of the Bishops, is infallible when practically and morally all the Bishops, with the Pope at least concurring, are teaching normally and regularly some truth regarding faith or morals with the evident purpose of binding their flocks to believe it as belonging to the Faith. The college of Bishops is also infallible when assembled in a Council recognized by the Pope to be a general council, and in decrees sanctioned by him which define matters of faith or morals. The Pope himself is also infallible in his own right and of his own authority, when he defines a doctrine in matter of faith or morals to be held by the whole Church.

The power of government signifies that the Church is a perfect and supreme society, subject to no other authority within her own sphere; which sphere Pope Leo XIII in the great encyclical *Immortale Dei* (Nov. 1, 1885) declared to be 'whatever in things human is in any way sacred, whatever regards the salvation of souls and the worship of God, whether it be of its own nature such, or again is understood to be such by the purpose proposed therein.' The Church cannot sacrifice any

of her inherent rights, although she may not insist upon the full use of them; in practice the Holy See is wont to enter into 'concordats' with states that desire it, in order to secure the smooth working of matters touching the interests both of Church and State.

The power of order, of orders, or of the sacred ministry, is the power of sanctifying, the power of sacrament and sacrifice, largely confined to the sacred priesthood, although Baptism can be administered by anyone who carries out the essential ceremony correctly and with the right intention; and the ministers of Matrimony, strictly speaking, are the contracting parties themselves, although the Church has divine authority to impose conditions, the neglect whereof makes sacrament and contract null and void.

The sacraments will probably be the subject of the Summer School of 1929, and in any case these various matters cannot be explained fully here; but it will be a help in reading this book to keep these powers of the Church steadily before the mind. The Old Testament, ably handled by Dr. Arendzen, presents us with a theocracy established upon different lines. The teaching authority is not infallible, but prophets are sent from time to time with a direct revelation and mission from God. A fresh revelation, too, may be made at any period, whereas in the New Testament the deposit of faith is closed at the end of the apostolic age, so that no fresh article of faith can be taught which does not belong to it, but there is development in the better understanding of what has already been revealed.

These powers may be considered also in the admirable papers of Father Martindale and Father Pope, the former of whom treats the subject in the main genetically,

and the latter analytically; the former explaining the growth, where the latter shows us what is in the 'Mystical Body' which has resulted. The history of this adjective, 'Mystical,' evidently needed to express the contrast with Our Lord's 'physical' Body, does not appear as yet to have been studied exhaustively. The earliest use that I know of the expression *corpus mysticum* for the Church is in the treatise *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini* (chap. 95) by Ratramnus Corbeiensis in the ninth century. Alexander of Hales (cf. *Summa Theologiae*, pars III, qu. 12, membrum 2 and 3) may have helped to bring it into scholastic usage, where it soon became firmly established.

Dr. Downey shows well that these powers cannot fail, and then passes to treat of the infallibility of the Church, having already written an able exposition of the infallibility of the Pope in the *Papacy* lecture-book. Infallibility, as has been said, underlies the teaching power; jurisdiction, which is itself the very power of ruling, and constitutes the Church an organic body, is treated in clear detail by Father Geddes. The Notes of the Church can also be demonstrated of each of these three powers in turn; but to construct a full treatise upon these lines would require a large volume. Dr. Grimley has dealt effectively with all the more important points. Finally, it is evident how much of their significance the valuable historical papers that make up this course and this book owe to their bearing in various ways upon the history of these powers. I may perhaps be allowed to single out for mention Dom Chapman's treatment of Photius, inasmuch as he corrects a common error; careful study of the evidence has convinced him that the part so often assigned to

Photius in the origin of the Byzantine schism, even by writers of weight, is an utter misconception.

These powers should also be borne in mind in considering a question of which much has been heard lately, that of reunion. Upon this subject the encyclical issued by the Holy Father this year (1928: *Mortalium animos*) on the feast of the Epiphany is decisive. It has been printed in the *Tablet* both in Latin (Jan. 28) and *English* (Jan. 21), and has been published in English in pamphlet form by Messrs. Burns Oates and Washbourne. It should do much to correct the mischievous notions which are prevalent outside the Church. What do we find? In regard of teaching, in the main it is not a levelling up that non-Catholics propose, but a levelling down; a renunciation, not of disbelief, but of belief. The Church of God will not gracefully waive an article or two of the Creed, in order to be thought broad-minded. He who rejects one infallible doctrine in a manner rejects all; because he rejects or entirely misapprehends the ground for accepting all.

Nor is the power of ruling, the principle of jurisdiction, of authority to govern, better understood. Many speak or write as though the difference between Catholic and Protestant were a difference in regard of the Holy Eucharist, or other such doctrines and practices. No doubt the Catholic Church is to a large extent the champion of the supernatural against that mere naturalism into which Protestantism is drifting; but she is Catholic, not precisely in virtue of this belief in the supernatural—which the schismatic easterns have to a considerable extent retained—but because, as the very name signifies, she is universal in her divine mission,

she is one body under one head, and to her all, according to the divine plan, every human being should belong. She cannot therefore admit the right of other religious bodies to treat with her on equal terms. For anybody who is outside the Catholic Church, the first and primary duty is to enter it, cost what it may. 'Invincible ignorance,' as it is almost technically called, the blinding force of education and environment and so much else, can alone excuse those outside the Church from grievous sin. But it is a recognized and sufficient excuse. 'Who,' said Pius IX, 'can take so much upon himself, as to be able to determine the limits of this ignorance according to the various nature of peoples, places, minds, and so many other things?' (from the Allocution *Singulari quadam*, Dec. 9, 1854: Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, no. 1647.)

But for Anglicans anything like corporate reunion is absolutely excluded by Leo XIII's condemnation of anglican orders as null and void in the Bull *Apostolicae Curae* (Sept. 13, 1896), with which should be read the powerful *Vindication of the Bull 'Apostolicae Curae'* published by the English hierarchy in the following year. There is also an invaluable article on the subject in the *Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique* (Paris, Beauchesne: art. *Ordinations anglicanes*) by the late Father Sydney Smith, S.J., with a full bibliography. It can hardly be doubted that the condemnation, in any case final, must also be considered infallible. Pope Leo repressed vigorously an attempt by some French Catholics to reopen the question, declaring that it had been his intention to give a final decision and absolutely settle the matter (*absolute iudicare et penitus dirimere*), and that his sentence was to be accepted as irrevocable

(*perpetuo ratam, firmam, irrevocabilem* : see the article referred to, *ad fin.*). This indeed was sufficiently clear from the Bull itself.

Meanwhile we find comparatively little effort to understand the Catholic position, or to go to Catholics for an explanation of their doctrine or practice. *Catholica non leguntur*—Catholic works are not read, even by those who make it their business to pass judgment on things Catholic. It is no wonder that the doings in Mexico receive but little attention, when even the treatment of matters Irish or French, not to say Roman, would furnish ground for some just complaint. Only lately His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster has felt it his duty to complain of the increasing misrepresentation of things Catholic. Happily such misrepresentation is by no means universal; but Christian charity demands that care should be taken not to accept false witness. If considered without prejudice, the Church will be found to embody those ideals of national and international peace and harmony after which so many of the best are blindly groping. The Mystical Body of Christ is the model in many ways for all other rightly ordered bodies, which indeed it would spiritually support and contain, if according to Christ's command all mankind belonged to it.

All the more is it necessary for Catholics to know and fully appreciate their religion and all that belongs to it, to seek fuller instruction, to read Catholic books and Catholic papers. Towards such better knowledge the Summer School and this series of Summer School lecture-books are mainly directed. And while Catholics point to their own essential unity as a great argument of the

divine origin of the Church, they will not forget that Our Lord prayed that they should be *perfected* in unity, in Him and in the Father, even as He is in the Father and the Father in Him (John xvii. 21-23). For those who endeavour to help forward in their measure the work of sheer instruction, and that not least in order to help the many who are tossed about outside the Church in the present crisis of religious unrest and uncertainty, it is a duty and discharge of conscience to repeat upon occasion Our Lord's own indication of the best 'Evidence' work: 'By this shall all know that you are My disciples' (John xiii. 35).

The frontispiece reproduces a sketch very kindly and skilfully prepared by the Countess Bennigsen; for the following explanation of it I am indebted to Count Bennigsen. The sketch represents a symbolic picture called in Russian *Deisoos* (a corruption of the Greek *δέησις* 'prayer'). Christ, as High Priest (He is sometimes robed as a king), sits on the throne. Our Lady in a queen's robe stands on His right, whilst on His left stands St. John the Baptist. Our Lady here represents the worship of the New Testament Church, whilst the Baptist represents that of the Old Testament Church. The two angels symbolize the Church Triumphant. In this way the ikon is a symbol of the whole Church.

In conclusion, it is becoming in this place to offer a brief tribute to the memory of the late Archbishop of Liverpool, Archbishop Keating. To his vigorous initiative while still Bishop of Northampton the Cambridge Bible Congress of 1921 owed its origin; and he is therefore rightly regarded as the founder of the Summer

School, which was developed without great difficulty from the Bible Congress and carries on its work, on a more modest scale but with wider scope. He took an interest in the School, and paid it several visits. May he rest in peace!

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
EDITOR'S PREFACE - - - - -	v
I. THE OLD TESTAMENT - - - - -	I
By the Rev. J. P. ARENDZEN, D.D., Ph.D., M.A., of the Catholic Missionary Society (author of <i>The Gospels : Fact, Myth or Legend ?</i> etc.).	
II. THE NEW TESTAMENT.	
By the Rev. C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J., M.A. (author of <i>St. John the Evangelist, St. Paul, etc.</i>).	
PART I: CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS - - - -	19
PART II: THE ACTS AND EPISTLES - - - -	38
III. THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST - -	57
By the Rev. HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.M., Doct. S. Script. (author of <i>The Catholic Student's Aids to the Bible, etc.</i>).	
IV. THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS - - - -	91
By the Rev. P. G. M. RHODES, D.D., Ph.D., M.A., Professor of Dogmatic Theology at Oscott.	
V. DEVELOPMENTS UNDER ST. LEO I AND ST. GREGORY I - - - - -	III
By the Rev. J. H. BYRNE, M.A., Professor of Church History at Womersley.	
VI. THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH.	
By the Rev. BERNARD GRIMLEY, D.D., Ph.D., of the Catholic Missionary Society (Editor of <i>The Catholic Gazette, etc.</i>).	
PART I: UNITY AND CATHOLICITY - - - -	130
PART II: SANCTITY AND APOSTOLICITY - - - -	163
VII. THE ENDOWMENTS OF THE CHURCH: IN- DEFECTIBILITY AND INFALLIBILITY -	184
By the Very Rev. RICHARD DOWNEY, D.D., Ph.D., Vice-Rector and Professor of Dogmatic Theo- logy at Upholland (contributor to <i>The Papacy and other volumes, etc.</i>).	

	PAGE
VIII. JURISDICTION - - - - -	194
By the Rev. L. W. GEDDES, S.J., D.D., Professor of Apologetics at Heythrop.	
IX. THE DONATIST SCHISM AND HOW IT WAS MET BY ST. AUGUSTINE - - - - -	213
By the Rev. HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.M., Doct. S. Script.	
X. THE BYZANTINE SCHISM - - - - -	240
By Dom JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B., B.A. (author of <i>John the Presbyter</i> , etc.).	
XI. THE ENGLISH DISRUPTION IN THE SIX- TEENTH CENTURY - - - - -	272
By JOSEPH CLAYTON, Esq., F.R.Hist.S. (author of <i>The Historic Basis of Anglicanism</i> , etc.).	
SELECT CATHOLIC BIBLIOGRAPHY - - - - -	291
INDEX - - - - -	294

I.

THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE REV. J. P. ARENDZEN, D.D., Ph.D., M.A.

WHEN one speaks of the Church in the Old Testament one can mean two things; either the people of Israel viewed as a religious society instituted by God, and then we ought rather to speak of the Church *of* the Old Testament, or we can mean the Christian Church as foretold and foreshadowed in the Old Testament Scriptures.

Let us take the first meaning first. One might roughly describe a Church as a divinely instituted organization for the maintenance and furtherance of revealed religion. Was there such an organization in the Old Law? We are not asking whether there was a divine revelation in the Old Testament, we take this for granted, but we ask, was there a divinely created religious society for the perpetuation and spread of this revealed religion? Once more we take for granted that the Jews were God's chosen people, and that they were the chosen carriers of God's revelation. Salvation is from the Jews, said Our Lord, the Messias was to be born from them, and had the Jews proved faithful, the Jewish commonwealth would somehow have grown into the Messianic Kingdom. They certainly were God's chosen people, but did God form them into a Church? To some the question may seem idle, for they may think the answer obvious, for had not the Jews a temple and a priesthood and many revealed rules and regulations for

worship? What else were they but a Church? Does not the Hebrew word for Church (*kahal*) occur some 123 times in the Old Testament, and does not the Septuagint translate this usually by ἐκκλησία, the very word we Christians still use? Are there not a number of precise regulations determining the membership of or the exclusion from the *kahal Israel*, the Church of Israel, the Church of Jehovah?

The answer may indeed seem obvious, as long as we attach no very precise meaning to the word Church, but it becomes much more intricate as soon as we attempt to be exact in thought and expression.* The Jews had divinely inspired books, a divinely instituted liturgy, by divine decree their priesthood was limited to the family of Aaron, and their ministry to the tribe of Levy; but do these privileges, however great, amount to the creation of a Church? The Jews as a people were undoubtedly under the miraculous and immediate Providence of God; as a civil polity, a nation, a commonwealth, they were under the guidance first of Moses and Joshua, and then of a series of divinely called Judges, and finally of a divine chosen dynasty, that of David. As a reigning dynasty this ceased at the Babylonian exile, and on their return during the five hundred years (almost) that elapsed before the coming of Christ, they did not form a sovereign state, but were subjects of Babylonian, Persian, Ptolomaic, Seleucid and Roman rulers. Barely for fifty years did they regain their sovereignty under the Machabees, who might be in some sense considered as divinely chosen rulers. Their political status, therefore, though watched over by a special Providence, can in no sense be said to have been of divine creation or institution; the more so as

for the last two centuries before Christ half the number of Jews, if not the majority, lived outside of Palestine under alien governments.

It has been maintained that after the exile the Jewish people changed from being a state to being a Church. But what precisely do we understand by a Church? If indeed we understand this word as it is now usually understood in non-Catholic circles: voluntary associations of men for the purpose of fostering, maintaining and propagating certain religious tenets and practices; in this sense the Jewish race certainly formed a Church. If however we understand the word in the Catholic sense: a perfect, self-contained and independent society, or spiritual state, created directly by God and maintained by His divine power for the maintenance of the revelation, the worship and the ethical code proclaimed by Him: we must make considerable reservations.

Whatever Jewish Church there may have existed, it remained almost exclusively racial and national, and possessed no religious authority which could bind men of all kinds. By bodily descent from the Patriarchs of old one became member of this privileged race, and by circumcision even pagans could be incorporated in Israel. Some Jews no doubt maintained that the vast world outside was obliged to be circumcised and thus completely incorporated in the commonwealth of Israel and obey its laws, but incorporation into this Nation-Church was never proclaimed as the only way to eternal salvation.

If the Jews formed a Church, it was emphatically not a catholic or universal Church. It seems historically certain that the word catholic was applied to the Church Christ founded in deliberate contrast to the

Jewish religion, which was the exact reverse of catholic, being racial and national.

On the other hand the Old Testament certainly constituted some kind of Church for the Jews. What doctrinal authority did this Church have, and where did it reside? Matt. xxiii. 2 is very often quoted: 'The Scribes and Pharisees have sat in the chair of Moses; whatsoever they say to you do and observe, but according to their works do ye not, for they say but do not.'

At first sight this may seem to contain an acknowledgment that Scribes and Pharisees taught in Christ's day with the same authority as Moses of old, and that the Jews were bound to do and observe as they taught, though they were warned against imitating their conduct. The meaning of this text, however, is not so simple as at first might appear. First of all it is remarkable that this authority is ascribed to Scribes and Pharisees, considering that the Mosaic Law does indeed acknowledge the authority to explain the Law in the priesthood, but knows nothing of Scribes and Pharisees. They were a body of self-appointed laymen, whose functions did not reach back to many generations before Our Lord. Secondly, in the discourse that follows the text Christ Himself rejects much of the teaching of these Scribes and Pharisees, and warns the people against it. The first accusation against them is indeed that they do not practise what they preach; but the second accusation is that they teach falsely and have corrupted the Law of Moses. How is this reconcilable with the opening command, if command it is: 'Whatsoever they say, do and observe'?

It seems therefore that we must either modify the

meaning into a categorical statement, and not an imperative: 'Whatsoever they say, as a matter of fact you do and observe; I know it, and I beg of you at least do not behave as they do.' Or we might keep the Greek verbs still perhaps as imperatives, and see in the words a permission. 'Whatsoever they teach you, do and keep: be it so, I am not concerned in finding fault with you in this point or to forbid you, but I *do* say: do not behave as the Scribes and Pharisees do.'

A third variation of meaning is possible. 'Whatever they deliver to you as directly taught by Moses himself, do and keep. The Scribes and Pharisees do as a matter of fact in these days convey the law of Moses to you; the priesthood and the Sadducees have become dumb and have ceased to teach the people. Whatever knowledge of the Mosaic Law comes to you, comes to you as a matter of fact through Scribes and Pharisees; therefore whatsoever they deliver to you as taught by Moses, do and keep.' Our Lord would thereby in no sense endorse Pharisaic speculations and deductions from the Law, or their appeal to the tradition of the fathers as of equal standing to the Law. To have set themselves in Moses' chair would simply mean they are the *de facto* public readers of the Law, who make it their business to proclaim it and enforce it. The Greek *ἐκάθισαν* suggests that they set themselves there. To sit in Moses' chair would not mean to inherit Moses' authority, as if that of the Scribes and Pharisees were the same as that of the founder of Israel; but merely to be the *de facto* conveyors of Moses' law.

Where in fact did the doctrinal authority in Israel reside? Undoubtedly in the priesthood. *Labia sacerdotis custodient scientiam, et legem requirent ex ore eius*

(Malach. ii. 7). We sometimes refer to 'the authority of the synagogue,' but this authority was of a very indeterminate and shadowy character. It could not claim any immediate divine institution. The Law does not refer to it. Over the doors of all synagogues to-day one reads the cryptic letters קה, which stand for *kehalah kedosha*, 'Holy Church,' but its holiness is not directly derived from the Scriptures. To be put out of the synagogue was a quasi-excommunication, dreaded by even the most indifferent Jews. For all that, its authority rested on the people and not directly on God's appointment. Previous to the coming of Christ these Synagogues or Jewish Churches were the main forces which kept the scattered Jews together, instructed them in the Law, and spread the faith among the Gentiles. They must therefore have been under some special Providence of God, who wished to maintain Israel as the witness to His truth until the coming of the Messiah, but they possessed no further guarantee of infallibility than being a *de facto* expression of the conviction of God's chosen people, which could not totally fail until the New Covenant was established. Between the hundreds of Synagogues scattered over the Roman and Persian Empires there was no strict bond of unity of government. It was a congregationalist system, though it was held that the decision of the majority of rabbis was law in Israel. The Jews formed a church inasmuch as they were a far-flung race, without any political centre or civil tie. It was kept together solely by religion.

It is often said that the Christian Church succeeded the Synagogue, but the idea which the Christian had of his Church was fundamentally different from that

which a Jew had of the Synagogue. For the Jew it was the people of Israel which was the chosen object of God's grace; in them all authority resided. The Synagogues were sacred because they were the expression of the mind and the will of the people; it was the people, the carnal descendants of Abraham, and those who by circumcision were co-opted therein, who were the final depositories of all the authority, the privileges and the revelation from above. The Synagogues were 'churches' in what we may perhaps describe for simplicity's sake as the Protestant, not the Catholic sense. The convert from Judaism to Christianity by his conversion entered into a new world, into a society, of which the office-bearers were held to be divinely appointed, and this not merely to carry out some ritual functions, as the Aaronic priests; but as teachers and legislators. It was something new and unheard of in the Synagogue to say *Posuit vos Spiritus Sanctus episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei, quam acquisivit sanguine suo* (Acts xx. 28). The convert Jew had not merely to confess in his Baptismal Creed that he believed in the Trinity of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, but in the Holy Church. He was immediately faced, by the very fact of being Christian, by the fact that he was to obey, not only an authority other than the authority of the Synagogue, but an authority of another kind, an authority which claimed to derive its sanction from above, not from below. Its office-bearers were directly appointed by God. The racial bond had been superseded, and another bond had evidently taken its place, which lay in the fact that the office-bearers were directly appointed by God. How strange this new conception was to the Jewish mind is clear from the amazement caused by Peter's reception

of pagans into the Church without any previous incorporation into Israel by circumcision. This brought home to them in the concrete that membership of the *Ecclesia Dei* had taken the place of appurtenance to the Chosen People of Israel.

We can indeed speak of a primitive *revelation* and a Mosaic revelation, as well as of a Christian revelation, but we cannot speak of a primitive *Church*, or a Mosaic *Church*, unless we wish to use the word Church in a very broad sense, profoundly differing from that which we intend when we refer to the Catholic Church. When we speak of the Catholic Church we intend to convey the thought of a perfect, self-contained society, independent from all other organisations on earth, presided over by divinely appointed officials, which society has for triple purpose that of teaching, ruling and sanctifying its members. Such an organisation the Jews did not possess. First of all, they possessed no infallible doctrinal authority. They had no individual official or board of officials in any way corresponding to our Pope or Council, to whose doctrinal decision they had to bow as to the infallible word of God.

What provision, then, had God made for the continuance of the revelation He gave to Abraham and to Moses? He had chosen Abraham and his descendants as the carriers of the blessings of the coming Messianic kingdom, He had through Moses formed these descendants into a people, a race and a nation. He had given to this nation laws religious, ceremonial and civil, and had declared them to be His own people, as no other people on earth was his own. He had chosen one family as the sacerdotal family among them. This choice carried with it a supernatural provi-

dence over them, ensuring that, as a nation, they should never completely fail until the days of the Messiah should come. This, in some broad and vague sense, constituted them into an infallible nation, for salvation was indeed of the Jews; but God carried out His divine purpose, not by a Church, but by a series of seers and prophets, sent at irregular intervals for almost a thousand years. God had pledged Himself to the sending of these prophets, who had their authority, not by racial descent, not by appointment, nor by sacred ceremony, but by a direct call from God, manifested unmistakably by the fulfilment of their prophecies of the future. The Levites and the priests had indeed authority to interpret the Law, but they seem normally not to have used it beyond the practical enforcement of ceremonial requirements, a teaching priesthood they seem never to have been.

Moreover we must never forget that the revelation of the Old Covenant was in itself incomplete and progressive. The original deposit of the Faith was probably restricted to these four things: the Unity of the Godhead, the coming Redemption, the choice of Israel as God's own people to prepare the way for its coming, and lastly the proclamation of the Law on Sinai.

As the ages rolled on the details of the coming Messianic kingdom were gradually revealed, and more precise ideas concerning the world beyond, the resurrection of the dead, and the office of the angels gained ground in Jewish circles. Provision for doctrinal accuracy and correct interpretation of the prophetic passages of Scripture seems to have been kept to broad outlines. The Jewish schools at the time of Christ were indeed

most meticulous on matters of law and ceremonial, but on abstract teaching, on the exact meaning of prophecy, there seems to have been a great latitude.

The Jews certainly possessed a divinely appointed priesthood, and thus through the revealed items of the ceremonial law they possessed a divinely guaranteed worship. It must however be kept in mind that they possessed no sacramental means of grace, and that their priesthood was not strictly needed for the performance of any grace-giving rites. Circumcision could be, and was, administered by any layman, and through circumcision one became heir to the promises. Moreover, the bulk of Jewry lived too far away from Jerusalem to benefit in any way by the ministrations of the Levitical priesthood. The Sanhedrin in Jerusalem was a mixed civil and sacerdotal tribunal, which possessed no determinate authority outside Judaea. The Jews were scattered in small communities of a few hundreds all over the Roman and Persian empires. These smaller communities were held together by the Synagogues; but the Synagogues were free-will associations for the study of the Law, and only gradually obtained a quasi-legislative and quasi-doctrinal authority of a vague sort. Moreover, these Synagogues had not one world-centre, they at most formed a loose federation. Chief rabbis are an invention of later date. In Egypt the Jews had an ethnarch or alabarch, but he was a civil functionary under the Ptolemies and Romans, and could claim no divine sanction even for his civil ruling. In the Old Testament therefore God chose to maintain His revelation, not through an infallible and perpetual organism, but through a special Providence which watched over the Jewish people and the Jewish priest-

hood as a whole, and which raised from time to time inspired Prophets, whose task was to bring priests and people to Jehovah when they had strayed away, and by their written inspired books to be the mainstay of the religion of Israel.

We now come to our second point.

The Old Testament itself foretells the creation of a divine Church in Messianic times. As the prophecies regarding Christ Himself, so are the prophecies regarding His Church. They are scattered here and there throughout the Scriptures, and only the New Testament fully provides the key to them.

That the national covenant which God had made with Israel was to pass away is most clearly foretold in Jeremias and in Zachary. The latter prophet writes as the words of Jehovah: 'I will be your shepherd no more, that which dieth let it die, that which is cut off, let it be cut off, and let the rest devour every one the flesh of his neighbour. I took my shepherd's staff called Beautiful, I cut it asunder to make void my covenant which I had with the whole people, and it was made void in that day.' And Jeremias writes: 'Behold the days shall come,' saith Jehovah, 'and I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel and with the house of Juda, not according to the covenant which I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand to bring them out of the land of Egypt, the Covenant which they made void, and I had dominion over them, saith the Lord. But this shall be the Covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord; I will give My law in their inner man

and I will write it in their heart, and I will be their God and they shall be My people.'

Therefore, in one sense, the old Covenant had been broken, broken not by God, but by Israel; and in another sense it was to be continued by means of a different and greater covenant. By this covenant not a nation or race should be chosen, but a universal Church should be established, that is, a spiritual, visible society, independent of race and speech and locality, held together by spiritual bonds and an infallible authority.

Perhaps the first and clearest prophecy regarding the Messianic religion in the days of this New Covenant regards its universality or catholicity. It would cease to be exclusively national. *Dabo tibi gentes hereditatem tuam, et possessionem tuam terminos terrae* (Ps. ii. 8). 'In Him the Gentiles shall hope' (Rom. xv. 12, from Is. xi. 10). St. Paul loved to gather these texts, and we are all familiar with them. The Jew of Our Lord's day had a deep conviction that his religion should one day be the religion of the heathen world. No doubt the Jew reserved for himself a very special and privileged place in this universal Church, but of its universality he had no doubt.

The second characteristic of the Messianic age is the fact that it is described as a kingdom, a kind of sovereign, though religious state. It was not merely the aggregate of all those who believed in God throughout the world, but some religious commonwealth, in some way comparable to the great secular states of antiquity. It would be a spiritual state in which God would reign, and the citizens of which would partake, in a special way, of the temporal and spiritual gifts of God's bounty.

Very significant is the vision of the statue, seen in a

dream by Nabuchodonosor and interpreted by Daniel. Having described the kingdoms, signified by the golden head, the silver breast, the thighs of brass, the legs of iron, the feet of iron mixed with clay, the prophet continues: 'A stone was cut out of the mountain without hands, and it struck the statue on the feet and broke them to pieces. Then was the iron, the clay, the brass, the silver and the gold broken to pieces together, and became like the chaff of a summer's threshing floor, and they were carried away by the wind and there was no place found for them. But the stone that struck the statue became a great mountain and filled the whole earth.' This is explained as follows: 'In the days of those kingdoms the God of heaven will set up a kingdom that shall never be destroyed, and His kingdom shall not be delivered up to another people, and it shall break to pieces and shall consume all these kingdoms and itself shall stand for ever.' The obvious meaning of this prophecy is that at some historic moment some visible, though spiritual, organisation will enter this world, and once constituted, will spread throughout the earth and never again pass away.

Similar conclusions must be drawn from a number of other prophecies, for instance Isa. xiii, where it is said of the Messias: 'The principedom rests on His shoulders and they shall give Him the name Wonder-Counsellor Hero-God, Father for ever, Prince of Peace: to increase the Principedom and for peace without end on the throne of David and in His kingdom, to strengthen it and to confirm it in right and in justice for now and for ever. The zeal of Jehovah of Hosts shall bring it about.'

In fact the Messianic kingdom is so clearly described as a visible institution on earth, that it gave rise to the

misunderstanding among the Jews in Our Lord's day, who, because it was to be a visible, universal kingdom, argued that it must be a civil and secular one. They forgot that the Messiah was also portrayed as the Great Teacher, the Great Martyr who by His death should atone for and redeem the world. They forgot that the Messianic kingdom was also portrayed as one of spiritual enlightenment. The Messianic kingdom was to be one of spiritual enlightenment for the Gentiles. We read in Isa. xlii. 1-10, of the Messiah:

Lo, My servant, whom I uphold,
My chosen one, in whom My soul delights!
My spirit I am placing upon Him,
That what is right He proclaim to the Gentiles.
He shall make no clamour nor show pride,
Nor shout aloud in the open.
The bruised reed He shall not break,
The smoking flax He shall not quench,
Yet in truth He shall proclaim what is right.
He shall not flag either shall He flinch
Till He establishes on earth what is right,
Till in lands beyond the sea they attend to His law.
I, Jehovah, have called Thee in justice,
I grasped Thy hand, I am Thy guardian,
And I have given Thee for a covenant unto the people,
For a light unto the Gentiles,
That Thou mightest open the eyes of the blind
And bring the prisoner out of the prison
And them that sit in darkness out of the house of their
bondage.
Sing ye to Jehovah a new song,
His praise be from the ends of the earth,
Ye that go down to the ocean,
Ye multitudes dwelling beyond the seas.

Thus, and in many other passages, does Isaias portray a realm of religious knowledge to be established through-

out the earth by the Messias, a sphere of spiritual enlightenment which shall extend to the uttermost ends of the world. Appeal is made again and again to the fact that Jehovah is the God of all the human race, and that He will allow no longer that His glory, the honour due to Him, should be given to the dumb gods of the Gentiles. St. Peter on the day of Pentecost rightly appealed to Joel the Prophet to show that the coming of the Holy Ghost was the fulfilment of ancient prophecy: 'In the last days I will pour out My spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy and your young men shall see visions and your old men shall dream dreams. And upon My servants indeed and upon My handmaids will I pour out in those days of My spirit, and they shall prophesy.'

Nor is the Messianic period merely a time of spiritual enlightenment for all the world, it is also a time of universal forgiveness of sin, a general pardon extended to the Gentiles.

In a most significant and telling way the Prophet Ezechiel (chap. xxi) describes the passing away of the Old Covenant and the establishing of a new and everlasting one for forgiveness of sin. But this covenant shall be no more merely with Jerusalem, but it shall be a divine covenant including Samaria and Sodom, formerly cities of sin, but of lesser sin than that of Jerusalem. 'I will even deal with thee, Jerusalem, as thou hast dealt with Me, since thou hast despised thy oath and broken the covenant. Nevertheless I will remember My covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and I will establish unto thee an everlasting covenant. Then shall thou remember thy ways and be ashamed, when thou

shalt receive thy sisters, thine elder one Sodom and thy younger one Samaria, and I will give them unto thee for daughters, but not by thy covenant, but I will establish My covenant with thee, and thou shalt know that I am Jehovah, that thou mayest remember and be confounded and never open thy mouth any more because of thy shame, after I am pacified towards thee for all that thou hast done, saith the Lord.'

There is perhaps no passage in the Bible more astounding for the fierceness and bitterness of its divine sarcasm, but also none is plainer and more expressive of the gratuitousness, universality and pitying character of the new covenant. Sodom was destroyed by fire from heaven. Samaria was destroyed by a ruthless foe. Jerusalem is on the eve of complete destruction. All three were cities of sin, but the sin of Jerusalem was greatest of all.

Between Jerusalem and Jehovah there existed a mutual covenant. Jerusalem had sworn to serve Jehovah, Jehovah had sworn to bless Jerusalem. Jerusalem had broken the covenant. Jehovah had paid her back, He had changed His blessing into a curse. Yet for the sake of the covenant of old, Jehovah deigns still to include her in the New, a Covenant indeed, but of a different kind. In this New Covenant she will be included on the ground of her indisputable title of Queen and Mistress of all sinful cities, let her have Sodom and Samaria as daughters. This shows us how the New Covenant is marked by unconditional perpetuity. It is not a conditional covenant as the covenant between Jehovah and Israel, it is one of unconditional pardon for all, even Sodom included; and because it is not mutual but unilateral, a mere act of pity and

forgiveness for all sin, it is everlasting and will never pass away.

The details of this New Covenant are not given. There is but one special fact, which is mentioned, *viz.*, that it will include the establishment of a universal sacrifice.

One of the most striking prophecies is that in Malachy addressed to the Jewish priests: 'I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts, and I will not receive a gift from your hand. For from the rising of the sun even to its setting, My name is great among the Gentiles, and in every place there is sacrifice, and an offering unto My name, a clean oblation. For My name is great among the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts.' The sacrificial worship of Israel was therefore to be transformed and universalized in some system of sacrifice, prevailing throughout the world from the rising of the sun unto its setting, in the Catholic Church, the inheritor of the promises made to the Fathers. The life of the Catholic Church seems most vividly described in the latter part of the 21st Psalm. This Psalm is the one which Our Lord quoted on the Cross, beginning with the words, 'God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' Having described His passion and implored His Father's help in His agony, Christ suddenly changes His petition into a peal of praise:

I shall proclaim Thy Name to My brethren,
In the midst of the Church sing Hallel to Thee.
Ye that fear Jehovah, sing Hallel to Him,
All seed of Jacob give glory to Him,
Pay homage to Him all ye Israel's seed,
For He has not disdained
And He has not despised
My cry in affliction,

Nor turned His face away from Me;
When I cried to Him, He listened to Me.
Concerning Thee is My song in the Great Church,
My vows I pay before those that fear Him.
Let the poor eat and be filled,
Let Jehovah's worshippers sing unto Him,
May their heart have life everlasting.
Let all the ends of earth, remembering, returning to
Jehovah,
And all the tribes of the Gentiles give adoration to Him;
For unto Jahveh is the kingdom,
And He is the ruler over the Gentiles.
Let them eat and worship Him, all dwellers on earth;
Bend low before Him, all those that descend to the dust.
My soul shall live unto Him,
My seed shall serve Him.
A race to come shall be counted to the Lord,
They shall tell of His justice to a people yet to be born,
That He has done it.

II.

THE NEW TESTAMENT.

BY THE REV. C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J., M.A.

PART I: CHRIST AND THE GOSPELS

IF you want to know all about an oak, the best method is not to get an acorn, even though the acorn is the earliest edition, so to say, of an oak, and to dissect and in every way to study it. You are wisest to get hold of an actual oak, derive from it a rough idea of 'oak,' and then, if you like, return to the acorn, describe it, watch its development, and end by being able to say all that is to be said about oaks, and why such and such a tree is an oak, and what you can do with oak-wood, and so on. Had you had nothing but the acorn, you never would have foreseen an oak-tree: had you had but the oak-tree, you would not be likely to surmise the acorn.

Somewhat similarly, in studying the Church in the New Testament, time is probably wasted, and results are insecure, if you begin at once with the first three gospels. You are wise to turn at once to the *Acts*, and get a general impression of what the earliest Christians were doing; what you see there, is, humanly speaking, bound to be the sort of thing that Christ meant to set going. It is enormously unlikely that all the Apostles would have conspired, so to say, to make the same mistake—that at once, without delay, the totality of Our Lord's closest associates, and with them, all whom they influenced, should have unhesitatingly combined

to create what Christ had no idea of creating. Therefore we may safely say that what you see happening in the *Acts* is at least the sort of thing that Christ meant should happen.

Now in the *Acts*, without going into details, you certainly see a definite body of men and women, who after a while win the nickname of 'Christian.' The group is so definite, that not only is the somewhat vague condition of 'believing' imposed upon all who would enter it, but, the extremely concrete rite of being 'baptized' into the Name of the Lord Jesus. The 'belief,' however, was clear enough on two points: Jesus of Nazareth, who had been crucified, was the promised Messiah; and, He had received God's seal and sanction, inasmuch as God had raised Him from the dead. Moreover, none can doubt that this group was ruled by twelve men, who called themselves Apostles, and behaved with an absolute authority. They confessed themselves, on the one hand, completely subservient to the mission they had received from God, so that not all the authorities spiritual or civil of their land had the right to try to stop them speaking, but on the other, they claimed to have complete authority over the new 'sect,' as at first it appeared to be, an authority not assumed or invented by themselves, but divine in origin. They could actually write at the head of a legislative document: 'It has been decided by the Holy Spirit and by Us'; and, when a lie was told to them in their official capacity, they declared that the lie had been told to the Holy Ghost, and the liar was struck dead. They taught, then, and ruled and did so with full authority in the spheres of truth and right, in the name and under the sanction of God. It became constantly

clearer not only in theory but in the concrete, that this was not an affair of one place or one time, but from Jerusalem the 'group' extended itself to Judaea, to Samaria, to Palestine, and to the heathen. Once this had taken place, no limit of space or time could be foreseen to its growth; moreover, the Name of Jesus was announced as being the sole source of salvation for all men upon the earth—for, in a word, mankind. One, Apostolic, Catholic, and sanctifying Church.

What did Christ come into the world to do? To preach and to establish the Kingdom—that is, the Reign, of God. He 'began to preach and to say: 'Repent! for the kingdom of the heavens is at hand' (Matt. iv. 17). To do so, is His mission: 'I must preach the kingdom of God: for unto that am I sent' (Luke iv. 43). He sends His disciples forth with the like duty—'Say to them, the kingdom of God is come nigh unto you' (Luke x. 9). What was His perspective, His horizon, in doing this? There are those who consider that any suggestion that this kingdom was not purely *interior*—any hint of a concrete, visible social fact, is to be regarded as the inevitable inheritance of the Jewish past, and destined to spiritualise itself away as the years pass. So writers like Sabatier, Harnack. At the opposite pole is a man like Loisy, who regards Christ's work as the creation of something essentially social and concrete, but as meant to serve as a mere interim-affair, to last during the very brief space that Christ (Loisy holds) expected to intervene between His preaching and the imminent Day of Doom, when God's triumph should be manifested. Christ therefore is to have instituted a Church indeed, but one meant to

last only for a few years or even months: when the Judgment did not arrive, His successors quite rightly and inevitably developed His interim 'society' into the hierarchic Church that we know, but that was never foreseen nor intended by Himself. Old-fashioned orthodox Protestantism admitted that Christ founded some sort of a society, or at least drew His disciples together in love, but considered that He left this society without much, if any, organisation, and that anything like the episcopate or diaconate grew up according to the needs of the moment and had no absolute value; and of course that there was no centre of infallible teaching in the Church. There was a minimum of the exterior: the essence of the thing was wholly interior and individual. What, then, was Christ's action herein?

The Jews had always looked forward to a kingdom. At first it was foreseen as centred in Jerusalem, where a king of David's line should reign, and destroy, or enslave, or convert the heathen. But it was always seen as a kingdom of righteousness, that is, wherein God triumphed, that is, as a reign of God. The history of Jewish disasters made the hope more keen, yet more spiritual. God and His triumph come ever more full into the foreground, and the arrival of the kingdom practically coincides with that total triumph of God that cannot be looked for before the Last Day. God's justice should then be vindicated, the world should be renewed, and, last of all, it was proclaimed that the righteous dead should rise. In the 'eschatological' and 'apocalyptic' literature of the last two centuries before Christ, all this is accentuated. The Baptist is not read of as speaking of the kingdom as national, but he speaks of it as imminent, and in terms of fire and vengeance, though I

must insist, without lingering on it, that all prophets saw the world as it were in planes—what happened on the nearest plane—like the sack of the city—not only symbolised but, as it were, contained within itself the intimation, the immediate equivalent, of the complete event which should occur at the Final Day of Yahweh.

With this ever more rich, yet ever more spiritual notion of the Kingdom, that of its King kept pace. The king of David's line became more and more seen as liberator and restorer; by the time of Isaias (*e.g.*, Isa. ix., and all his Emmanuel prophecies) I hold that the Anointed, Messias, was regarded as in some true sense supernatural: isolated prophecies foretold His virgin birth—His redemptive sufferings—but these seem to have lapsed out of notice. In Daniel and thereafter you see that the Messias is so truly man that He can claim the title 'Son of Man' *par excellence*, and yet stands in so unique a relation to God Himself, that He would seem to be both immortal and pre-existing from all time. It was He, then, whose apparition was to inaugurate the New World: He should judge the old one: He, take His throne as God's visible representative in the Kingdom of Righteousness, world-wide, and unending. To this notion I shall return, merely saying here that all who are concerned with the events of the birth of Christ—Gabriel, Zachary, Simeon, speak in Hebrew and even national formulæ of the kingdom and its King. (Luke i. 16, 32, 68: ii. 32, *etc.*).

Now it is certain that Our Lord insists on the supreme value of interior religion. I need not even illustrate this, though I might note that the often-quoted text: 'The kingdom of God is within you' (Luke xvii. 20) *may*

mean that it is to be found in a good conscience: but to my mind it is far more likely, that, in the context, it implies that the coming of the kingdom is not to be announced by a series of appalling cataclysms, but is here already, in your midst. But it is the worst of logic to decide that when a man insists on *this*, he excludes *that*. In fact, Our Lord, in the field of behaviour, most carefully guards Himself against that suggestion. Because He wanted a very different state of mind from that of the hypocritical Pharisee, it did not at all follow that you could freely dispense yourself from attending to the Pharisees' authority. Nor is there the least hint that the Jews were wholly wrong in expecting a kingdom in part at least exterior. He insists again and again that He has come to fulfil the Jewish expectations, however much He may surpass them (see especially Luke iv. 16-22). All His parables suit only some very concrete fact, by no means just a collection of pure hearts—the net contains fish good and bad, the field, cockles along with the wheat; the virgins that await the Bridegroom's final coming are foolish as well as wise; at the marriage-feast is found a man without his wedding-garment: there are toilers in the vineyard, nor is the repose of evening come. There is then, to start with, no suggestion that the 'Kingdom,' whatever it may prove to be, is purely an affair of conscience and nothing else.

Nor certainly is it an affair only of the end of the world. Generalising, I would say that these theories which exclude everything save one thing, are nearly always wrong. They are academically formed, and involve the ruthless cutting out of the text of the documents, as interpolations, all the passages that do not suit the

theory. The same holds good for any ancient writer under criticism, like Homer. There is then a sense in which the Kingdom is concerned with the end of the world, but it is not only concerned with that, nor with some brief interspace, at best, between its preaching and its consummations.¹

¹ It would take me too long to enter in detail into the problem set by Our Lord's own 'eschatological' sentences. They are: 'Amen, I say to you, that there are some of them that stand here that shall not taste of death till they see the kingdom of God coming in power' (Mark viii. 39): 'I tell you of a truth that there are some standing here that shall not taste death till they see the kingdom of God' (Luke ix. 27): 'Amen, I say to you, there are some of them that stand here that shall not taste death till they see the Son of Man coming in His Kingdom' (Matt. xiv. 28): 'Amen, I say to you, that this generation shall not pass till all these things be done' (Matt. xxiv. 34): 'Amen, I say to you, this generation shall not pass away till all these things be fulfilled' (Luke xxi. 32): 'You shall see the Son of man sitting on the right hand of the power of God, and coming with the clouds of heaven' (Mark xiv. 62): 'I say to you, hereafter you shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of the power of God and coming in the clouds of heaven' (Matt. xxvi. 64): 'Amen, I say to you, you shall not finish the cities of Israel before the Son of Man come' (Matt. x. 23). The last sentence stands by itself: I think it means that Israel will be obdurate; possibly, that Israel will not have been fully evangelised, before the Church sets out on its world-mission. As for the other sentences, observe that God could be described as 'coming' not only at the last day, but in any great and shattering event. There is then a triple coming of Christ—first, in the sack of Jerusalem, which was a coming in power: then, may be, in the actual apparition of His Church in the world, signalised at Pentecost: third, when He comes 'in glory,' 'with the clouds of heaven,' at the last day. Notice then that nowhere does Our Lord speak of this last 'coming' as destined to occur within this generation, or the lifetime of those present. The sack of Jerusalem did so occur, and it is this coming in power that is said to be so near. Why, however, do the Evangelists seem to put these two different sorts of texts into one continuous speech? Some have thought that the speech may have been put together out of fragments of Our Lord's utterances, spoken at different times, and on different topics, yet sufficiently alike to allow a writer, writing some time afterwards, to connect the fragments he thus remembered. That may be: but I do not think it is a

Though God's triumph, then, is to be consummated in heaven—'Come, ye blessed of My Father, possess the Kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world' (Matt. xxv. 34)—all the ends of the world shall pilgrimage to join the feast of the ancient Patriarchs in their glory (Luke xiii. 28)—yet it begins here and now, and develops in the material and moral conditions of this life. Repentance and conversion prepare its advent, obedience and the doing of God's Will maintain it (Matt. iv. 17: v. 20: vii. 21): already inaugurated (Matt. xi. 12-15: Luke xvi. 16, *etc.*), it is to grow, working like leaven, spreading like the mustard-tree, developing imperceptibly under stress not only of its inner impulse but of the circumstances of life—'as though a man should cast the seed upon the earth, and should sleep, and should rise, night and day, and the seed should spring and grow up, how, he knoweth not himself.

necessary view. It is true that Our Lord's discourses were not, as it were, taken down in shorthand: nor does inspiration involve dictation of speeches made long ago. None the less, these speeches are manifestly in what can be called the apocalyptic dialect—the way of speaking immemorially used by Hebrew prophets, and especially in the last two centuries before Christ's life on earth: all who heard Him, recognised the 'dialect.' But I hold it demonstrated that such writers, or prophets, contemplated simultaneously or in rapid sequence several planes, and spoke as it were in one breath of what was true on first one, then on another of them—a terrible imminent catastrophe—the sack, say, of Jerusalem by Babylonian, Persian, Greco-Syrian, Roman; and forthwith, of the recurrent defeat of Right by Wrong; and again, of the tremendous Consummation of all things. I think then that Our Lord's horizon, as He spoke, contracted rapidly till the siege and sack of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. occupied it wholly; then expanded, taking in the constant struggle of right and wrong throughout history, and the all-but complete catastrophe of Right; and then, still further expanding, envisaged the Last Day of all. This is certainly true for the Apocalypse, and even for St. Paul in his second Letter to the Thessalonians. (See *Princes of His People: St. John's Apocalypse and C.T.S., Antichrist.*)

For, of itself, the earth bringeth forth first the blade, then the ear, afterwards the full corn in the ear. And when the grain is brought forth, immediately he putteth in the sickle, because the harvest is come.' I know no more exquisite parable than this one reported by St. Mark (viii. 4-8), with its picture of patient toil and trust, and the passing of the days, and the morning when the labourer wakes up to see the red earth of Palestine one glamour of delicate green. The kingdom is already *near* you (Luke x. 9), nay—you stare this way and that to find it, and it is already among you (Luke xvii. 21). Above all, this Kingdom is to pass to the Gentiles. We have seen that the grain grows even in the absence of the Sower, and that He Himself is not sent 'save' to Israel. Yet there will be the 'Time of the Heathen' too (Luke xxi. 24: cf. Matt. viii. 11); the King departs and returns only after prolonged absence (Luke xix. 11-27); nay, the heathen shall be saved almost in preference of the Jews, destined to make evil choice and remain obdurate (cf. Mark xii. 1-12: Matt. xxi. 23: Luke xx. 9: xiv. 16, *etc.*). Moreover, we have already seen that in this Kingdom is a mixture of good and bad—tares in the wheat; foolish maidens among the prudent; false prophets will have to be discerned from true ones (Matt. vii. 15); persecution will be long-drawn, and many directions are given as to the behaviour a disciple should provide while it lasts (Matt. v. 38: Luke vi. 27, *etc.*); even so tedious is this period of merit and demerit and of testing, and of apostolate and fetching from bye-ways and hedges guests to the king's marriage, that Christ Himself foreshadows the 'How long?' of the Apocalypse, and the 'He delayeth His Coming' of converts in Pauline days. The maidens,

as they wait, and the bridegroom lingers, sleep, and their flickering wick dies out

Christ, 'sent' by the Father into this world, transmitted His mission. I cannot linger to prove that He had one (Matt. xv. 24, *etc.*, *etc.*), that our salvation is its object (John iv. 24, *etc.*), that its method is doctrine, belief in which saves us, to disbelieve which means death in sin (Matt. xii. 41: Mark i. 14: John iii. 16, *etc.*), and moral law imposed with a unique sanction—'Moses hath said unto you, but *I* say unto you . . . ' (Matt. v. 22). I do not think anyone is likely to dispute this. Nor is it disputed that Christ formed among the floating mass of His disciples a perfectly definite group—'The Twelve.' He chose 'those whom He Himself willed to choose' (Mark iii. 13: Luke vi. 12, *etc.*, *etc.*). They are a 'college,' a close corporation, no chance aggregate. Round them others gather, but do not coalesce with them. They are segregated, they receive a title, the title means something—it means the end and object of their existence—they are the Twelve who are 'sent.' They had a mission. And that mission was nothing less than a transmission—the mission that had been Christ's was now in its fulness theirs. 'As My Father hath sent Me, even so send I you' (John xx. 21). 'He that receiveth whomso I send receiveth Me; and he that receiveth Me receiveth Him that sent Me' (John xiii. 20).

They were sent not just in general to preach or to console, but, to do exactly what we have seen Christ's own mission to involve: they were sent to teach (Matt. xxviii. 16, *etc.*, *etc.*); they were given spiritual jurisdiction, the power to 'bind and loose' (Matt. xviii. 18), and this phrase was a well-known one, for the Pharisees themselves claimed the right to forbid and to permit this or

that action in moral matters; but here, the scope of the words is wider; it implies that the Apostles have the right to impose their will upon their hearers—to assert, not merely opine. And should it be argued that the subject of this gift is the whole body of those who follow Christ, I will answer that where the gift is not merely promised but actually conferred (Matt. xxviii. 16), it is confined to the Apostles only; though I might indeed allow, anticipating, that the Church as a whole has the right to judge the world; but none the less, from the very outset it was recognized that the governing body alone had the guarantee that in doing this it was acting with divine authority in each several case. Theirs is the divinely appointed task to teach and to govern in actual fact; no one else, in the Church, will dream of arrogating it to himself; when such claims are made, forthwith the claimant goes away, out of the historic body. It is the Apostles of each successive generation that so act. This is most clearly seen when Christ speaks of being ‘with’ them (itself a consecrated term) ‘always,’ ‘even to the consummation of the world,’ a sentence to be read in connection with Mark xvi. 15, 18: Luke xxiv. 46: John xx. 21: Acts i. 3; and the *object* of the gift is no less extended than the subject is restricted—it is to be ‘all nations,’ and what is more, the whole spiritual area in the life of the men of those nations, and indeed, so it had to be, since the work of the Apostles was, quite simply, to establish the Kingdom. Hence not only the mission of Christ was transmitted to the Apostles, but must needs be transmitted by them to all succeeding generations, since in no other way could the work that was theirs, and that was Christ’s, be done. In a word, then, Jesus, having full jurisdiction from

His Father, and a universal and perpetual mission, gave to twelve Apostles and their successors the same mission, the same duty of teaching and of ruling for the salvation of souls.¹

I should like to be able to take it for granted that this teaching and governing body is now seen by all to be endowed with infallibility. In this matter, there should be no apriorism. For example, if I say that infallibility (*i.e.*, the impossibility of erring in an official function) is necessary if doctrine is to be for ever purely taught, an opponent may answer: 'You judge it to be necessary: does God so judge it?' And again, 'Doctrine has *not* been taught in its purity—far from it: therefore the teachers have not been infallible, whatever texts you quote.' And finally, 'You assume that infallibility is desirable. Not only do I not admit this, but I consider that not even certainty is desirable. I hold that it is good for each to work out his own salvation, intellectually as well as morally.' Therefore I say that we must look at the question simply as one of fact: What sort of a guarantee did Christ give to His successors? Well, to repeat myself, He transmitted to them

¹ Again it is argued that He never meant to do this, because He thought that the End was imminent. At most He foresaw a Jewish kingdom, centred at Jerusalem, to which proselytes should flow. No. He was certainly not less universalist than the Old Testament was. He quite simply took over the Old Testament, and anything He did to it was in the direction of expanding it. I argue too that if He did not mean anything thus universal and permanent by His 'Church,' and if it was evangelists and so forth that inserted these ideas into His doctrine, the first thing that they would have done would have been to remove or so swiftly as possible to forget those 'particularist' texts that seem to narrow His mission down, whether in time or in extent. And as for the Apostles, they were the last people to expand Christ's message beyond what it actually was. The difficulty was to prevent them narrowing it in His despite!

the whole of His mission so far as it could be transmitted. We now know much more about Christ than that He was God's guaranteed spokesman and representative: we know that He was the only Son of God, that the sacrifice of Himself redeemed the world, and much more. But we also see that none of this was, as such, transmissible. For what is unique and consummated in one instance, cannot be repeated or transferred. But to teach and to rule are functions that any human can perform, and, any human is susceptible of a divine guarantee in so doing. Nor is there the least hint of any sort that Christ meant to leave the Apostles fallible in teaching or in ruling, any more than there is that He meant us to believe a thousand different things according to our own spiritual taste, so to say: I might add that still less, if possible, is there the suggestion that the Christian folk at large is infallible, and that the Apostles and their successors, having discerned what the Christian folk believe, proclaim this, and must be right, not by any prerogative of their own, but because the Christian folk is right. This notion, one of the surmises of the Modernists, was among their more academic inventions, and perfectly unlike anything suggested in the Gospels, Acts, or other New Testament documents, or in any part of the history of the Early Church. Well, then, Christ sends His Apostles as the Father sent Him: this does not mean—My Father sent Me, and I in My turn send you, as who should say, 'Michael Angelo taught me to paint, and now I teach you to paint'—but, 'In the way in which My Father sent Me, and with similar authority—for all power is given Me in heaven and earth—I in My turn send you.' He sends with efficacious authority, for, the consequence is, that

whoso hears, *i.e.*, obeys, the Apostles, is forthwith and equivalently obeying Christ; just as whoso obeys or despises Christ, obeys or despises God. Again, what the Apostles impose (forbid or permit) on earth, is forthwith ratified by God. But were they able to impose officially a lie or a sin, God would thereby be committed to imposing a lie or a sin. This, manifestly, is impossible. The phrase used by Our Lord therefore contains implicitly and most perfectly just what we mean by 'infallibility': it means, a gift—not of inspiration, not of revelation, but of *not being able* officially to belie God's truth, annul God's right. Having, thus, therefore, endowed the Apostles with a gift, He orders them to use it, and in fact, to confirm its use by miracle, so thoroughly has God to be, if I dare say so, involved and committed.¹

In England, we are so well instructed as to the *rôle* allotted by Christ to Peter that I need hardly linger upon this topic here. Besides, it has been and will be separately treated. Enough to say that Christ transmits His mission to the Apostles, and in a peculiar way does the same to one of them. How so? Early in His career He calls a certain Simon, son of Jona. Forthwith, He gives him a new name, Kephas, Stone, yet does not

¹ It would take too long to examine fully the *rôle* of the Holy Spirit in the Church. Enough to say that apart from divine grace and charity which (St. Paul will say) is 'diffused in our hearts by the Spirit which inhabits us,' His *rôle* is precisely ordered towards authoritative teaching. The Acts are full of references to the Holy Ghost, so much so that that book has been called the 'gospel of the Holy Ghost': but I would defy anyone to find in it the least suggestion that the Holy Ghost was given in order that individuals should excogitate their private Christianity, develop doctrines by personal inspiration, govern their lives by an individualistic ethic supposed to be taught them by a separate spiritual gift.

for almost two years explain why He does so. That He had a reason is obvious: Christ gave no meaningless nicknames. The sort of reason for which in Jewish times a special name was given to a man was, to show what the man was, or what he was to do. Simon therefore was, and was to act as, a Stone. Later, Christ asks the Apostles, 'Whom do men say that I am?' They answer: 'One says one thing, another another.' 'Whom do *you* say that I am?' Silence. Then Peter makes his great assertion of Christ's Divinity. 'Oh the blessings that are *thine*, Simon, son of Jona. No human teacher has taught thee that, but My Father. And so I say to thee, that thou art "Stone," and on this Stone I am going to build My Church, and the gates of hell (that is, the opposing forces of destruction) shall never, never prevail against it. (That is, because it is founded upon thee, and in so far as it is, it shall never be destroyed.) And to thee will I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth,' *etc.* (Matt. xvi. 18). I cannot discuss the authenticity of this text: enough to say that every detail in it is Aramaic in origin, and that it is out of the question that it should have been invented when the Church had left Palestine; and again, that those who suggest that it was invented to support the primacy of Rome, have to explain why on earth Palestinian Christians should have invented anything for that purpose of all others. No. The charge is authentic, and the words in which it is couched are authentic. The Apostles, perfectly familiar with the parable of the house built on the rock, which stood just so long as it *was* on the rock, realised that Christ here asserted that the building that He was to put up was to stand upon Peter, and would survive

just so long as it remained upon Peter; and because it was to survive for ever, it was appointed for ever to stand upon Peter. It is, quite simply, 'My Church,' that Christ speaks of: the whole gathering together, the whole organisation of His followers in all lands and in all ages. Moreover, He gives Peter the keys—and such a gift implies, and always did, the gift of complete vicarious control of all that was in what the keys belonged to, city, house, treasure-chest. The vivid image of the keys has eclipsed for too many of us the astounding words that follow it. Of what are these the keys? Of the Kingdom of Heaven—of the whole of that great thing which was Christ's work. You have seen what the Kingdom of Heaven meant: of it, and of all that is in it, Christ makes Peter master. Indeed, the Catholic Church by her definitions has if anything limited the apparent scope of this gift: Peter is but key-bearer of the Kingdom on this earth, nor does Christ abdicate in any way, but makes Peter His visible representative—His viceroy—in this world.

But what, then, of the rest of the Apostles? Peter, it is true, is of them: yet he is over them. Not only, though not called first (John i.), he is always named 'The First,' as Judas is officially placed last, but, in Luke xxii. 31, he is definitely *put* over them—and after all, they were *in* that Church which was built upon him, and of which he bears the keys. A dispute arises as to precedence. Christ, looking sadly on His chosen, turns to Peter. 'Simon, Simon, Satan hath desired to have you, to scatter you like grains of wheat. But (he shall not succeed, for) I have prayed for *thee*, and thou, for thy part, "confirm," give coherence, unity, stability to the brethren.' Finally, St. John (xxi.) shows Christ

instituting Peter shepherd of the entire flock, and I insist that just in proportion as modern writers seek to see in the fourth gospel an expression of dogma rather than a narrative of history, they must see in this incident a declaration of such dogma, rather than just a pathetic episode. At least it is true that St. John chooses and relates his historic episodes for the sake of some truth that they enshrine and declare: he tells here too what happened, because of what it meant. And observe: so truly has Christ transmitted His office and mission to Peter, that He has transmitted to him the immemorial titles of, first, God Himself, then, of God's Messiah. From the most distant ages of Hebrew religion, God, and later His Messiah, have been the Rock of Israel, the Shepherd of Israel, and He who is the Key that shutteth, and no man openeth, that openeth, and no man shutteth—the Key borne upon the shoulder of Him who has the power. Among, then, the Apostles, Peter receives directly and immediately from Christ a true and real primacy of jurisdiction.

In the Gospels, then¹, you find mentioned the Kingdom, and the Church. Are they then identical? Yes, and no. In so far as both Kingdom and Church are

¹ You will observe that I have preferred to quote from the Synoptists rather than from St. John. That is because so many non-Catholic writers regard St. John as no good witness to the authentic doctrine of Jesus. Far as I am from sharing that view, I am content to use material that is sufficient, and less disputed. Indeed, if you invoke St. John, you have an almost too easy task, so clearly is the structure as well as the fact of the Church indicated in his Gospel. I would however suggest that you connect all that has been said with the discourse of Our Lord that took place in the Upper Room. The complete solidarity of Christ with His Church is there seen so clearly, that the organic continuity of God's Son, Truth and Righteousness themselves, with His children admits of no dispute.

facts in human life, existing now, yet un-consummated, in so far as they are societies of living men, and exterior and affairs of time and place, they are identical. In so far as the Kingdom is interior, a force rather than an organization, spiritual and invisible, the identity is not complete. In a mystical sense, the Church as Christ's Body, the totality of men united through Him by grace with God, may be described as God's triumph and His reign. But, as governed by Apostles and headed by St. Peter, the Church is not co-extensive with that reign. Let us then say, not that the notion of the Church substituted itself for that of the Kingdom, but that the Kingdom, in so far as it expressed itself, according to God's will and Christ's work in a visible form, in a society, is indeed that which Christ named 'My Church.'

I can here but mention, for completeness' sake, the fact that Our Lord instituted a definite rite of admission into the Church—Baptism; and that He also instituted a special rite within the Church—the Eucharist—that should ever be offered in commemoration of Him, and that He initiated other rites and offices as well. But it is of the structure of the Church that in these two papers I am speaking, not the details of her life.

In the Gospels you see then magnificently proclaimed, yet so tenderly insinuated, the all-inclusive fact of God's ultimate total triumph. No day of the Lord, no cosmic catastrophe, when wickedness shall be made an end of, no vision of Mount Sinai extended till it fills the universe, can surpass the absolute victory of God as announced by Jesus Christ Our Lord. Yet even as He, in whom all the Godhead is, stole tacitly into this world, and did not strive nor cry, but mingled

with His brethren, and only by slow degrees might be distinguished from them, so did His doctrine begin most gently with what His hearers for so long had heard, what they might hear again without shock. That day is nearing, let them prepare for it by change of heart and penance. But little by little the teaching expanded and also defined itself. In a sense, that day had already come: God had already come: Emmanuel was present in their midst. Present, yet for the future; to be earned, yet God's utterly free gift; complete, yet to extend to the uttermost parts of earth and of time, the Kingdom could be seen, and could be grasped, God's rain had fallen upon the red earth of Adam's humanity, and the divine harvest already might be known. And even so tenderly, the Kingdom was, amid this humanity, to incarnate itself, just as its King was there incarnate: no flaming vision merely, no inner fire alone—we are not just souls, to live on visions, not isolated creatures who keep each our undivided secret in our hearts. We men, body and soul, we living social men, are to have a Kingdom that even here we can duly cope with, a Kingdom how transcendent soever, yet commensurate with what we are. A Society is formed by Christ; in it is all that human societies need and form; it has its method of admission and its rules for membership; it has its governing body, and it has its Chief. But since our perfected selves will not stop short at material well-being merely, Christ's society will provide our minds with truth, and enable our wills to choose that right which is according to God's will. There shall be in it a teaching of Truth, and a law of Good, and we shall be free indeed to refuse both the one and the other; but, if we do not

so, we shall have the certainty, and no timid surmise, that we possess the one and the other.

You see then in the Gospels the institution by Christ in person of a Church, one Church, founded on the Apostles, from among whom is chosen Peter to be over them, a universal and undying Church, and a Church that is holy and that sanctifies. A Church such that into it Christ pours Himself, even as into Him all that the Father is, is poured. He prays that 'they may be One Thing, even as We are One Thing: I in them, and Thou in Me: that they may be perfected into one.'

How that Church grew to maturity, or at least to adolescence, is what we have to study in the next paper.

PART II: THE ACTS AND EPISTLES

IN this paper I do not propose to outstrip the limits of the New Testament, but just as I said that it was worth looking at the Christian Society as seen in the 'Acts,' quite roughly and in no detail, before trying to examine it in its origin as the Gospels display it, so it is worth here too to look ahead just for 100 years or so, to the time of Pope Victor and of St. Irenæus, about A.D. 190. For even in the growing oak there may be essential elements not easy to discern at first: for example, I feel sure that few of you have seen oak-flowers, yet they must exist, else there would be no acorns! And in fact they do exist, and can be found if you hunt—only they have, I am assured, no petals!

Well, there can be no doubt at all for anyone that by the time of that Pope and of that great and travelled bishop, who knew by experience Asia Minor, Gaul and Rome, the whole of the Catholic structure is perfect and

manifest. The only question is, how it got there. You see clearly by then the One Church, with its rule of faith, authoritatively taught, apostolic in origin, and safeguarded and proclaimed by the successors of the Apostles, with Rome at the head, Rome not only conscious of, but exercising, universal jurisdiction, as when Victor proposed to excommunicate all the Asiatic bishops, in whose wish to keep a separate Easter he saw, as we should say, the germ of a national church, independent and de-catholicised. A very great stimulus was given to the formulating, by ecclesiastical writers, of the structural principles of the historic Church, precisely because the Gnostic movement taught a kind of private illuminism—each man by his inner light reached to God. The Church had always known she was not thus individualist and illuminist, but a body of men who were authoritatively taught. But when others attacked this statement, she proceeded to fight consciously and as for her very life.

Now our answer to the question: How did this sort of Church, that we see in 190, get there is, that it had always been there, just as we say that the Church of the Acts *is* the Church of the Acts because Christ founded it, and founded it like that. Let us then examine the apostolic Church more closely, and first, in Jerusalem.

It is definitely an organized community, not an enthusiastic multitude. The Twelve *rule*: they do not merely inflame devotion nor witness to by-gone incidents. Their action as to admitting people into the Church and baptizing them: regulating their way of living, even temporal: their using threats and even miraculous coercion (as in the case of Ananias) make this beyond dispute. It might just be urged that

alongside of them is the individualist, incalculable action of the Holy Spirit. That Spirit is indeed most active, but you will observe that His advent and powerful presence confer no *authority*. Individuals and whole communities receive the Spirit (Acts iv. 24: x. 44, *etc.*), but not for that are they exempted from apostolic authority. Even after receiving Him, they have to be baptized (x. 44: xi. 16). But this authority is recognized all the way through as belonging to the Apostles because Christ has given it to them; and though witness was part of their *rôle*, it was not all of it. What they imposed, was a Teaching, and that Teaching became forthwith a Tradition—and by that word I do not imply what we usually mean by it—‘a mere tradition,’ as we say; but a fact undeviatingly and authoritatively handed down from the original source. Teaching, Tradition, and what I may best translate as ‘formula,’ *tupos*, are three words that have to be regarded as corresponding to an essential and structural idea. See Acts ii. 4: Romans vi. 17 (the formula of doctrine): 1 Cor. xv. 1, 8: 2 Tim. i. 13: 1 Tim. vi. 20. The simplest form in which this doctrine was at first put forward was, Jesus of Nazareth is Messiah: God, by raising Him from the dead, has sealed Him so: belief in Him is necessary for salvation: you must therefore repent of your sins, believe, and be baptized. This, in virtue of their divine mission from Christ and under His guarantee, the Apostles taught; and they no more conceived of themselves, or were conceived of by others, as merely remembering, as I said, past events, than the Jews thought of the prophets as surmising what might happen in the future. They were divinely guaranteed spokesmen. And, indeed, throughout the New Testa-

ment, you find that interlocked series—Prophets, Christ, Apostles.

Already you see this expressing itself too in actions—the Apostles baptize, and delegate the right to do so, but do not yet transmit the rite of ‘laying on of hands,’ by means of which the Holy Ghost is given. The deacon Philip, for example (viii. 14-17), though full of the Holy Ghost, cannot ‘give’ Him: Apostles have to be sent for.

I might add that this recognition of a mission conferred exclusively, necessarily, and universally by Christ, at once marked the Christian Society off from what surrounded them, faithful as were the first Christians to Jewish ritual. Events drove home to the Apostles themselves that this fidelity was not necessary, and soon enough, not possible. The Church began to move out through the rest of Judaea, and even into Samaria, traditional enemy of the Jew: then came the question of the pagans, and whether or no the Mosaic ritual was to be imposed on them; and then: whether it continued to be obligatory even in the case of Jewish converts. I refer to this more exactly below. But partly by divinely reiterated revelation (in the case of St. Peter and the episode of Cornelius), partly because the Jerusalem authorities soon enough made it clear that they would have none of the new sect, the independence and autonomy of the Church ceased to be in any way obscure. Even in defiance of the Synagogue, even in disregard of Mosaic prescriptions, the Christian life must be lived, the Christian dogma taught.

The function of Catholicity, *i.e.*, here, the tendency to spread, asserted itself with great rapidity. This was partly due, under God, to the amazing personality of

St. Paul. But in his career nothing, to me, is more impressive than his complete subordination to the older Apostles. Not only you see him constantly checking his doctrine by theirs, even when he has to drive home to them the consequences of their own doctrine, of which from time to time they were timid, or rebuke even Peter for practical inconsistency, but for whole spaces of his life he does nothing. After his first apparition, as a convert, in Jerusalem, he retires to his home in Cilicia, and for quite three years is lost sight of. He did not return till he was fetched (Acts ix). One main point of his self-justification at the beginning of the letter to the Galatians is, that the older Apostles had nothing to add to him, nor he to them, so coincident were their doctrines. But what concerns us here is, that where an Apostle went, thither he carried his authority, an authority held, because given by Christ. Almost every introduction to apostolic letters commends the writer (and hence his letter) as being instituted in his office by Christ. This is most strongly put in the first words of the letter to the Galatians: 'Paul, Apostle, not from men nor by means of men, but through Christ, and from God' (Gal. i. 8). In virtue of this it is that the Apostle authentically sanctions doctrine, imposes precepts, chastises rebels, and absolves the penitent, regulates the liturgy, settles disputes, and delegates his powers. 'Though,' writes Paul very frankly to Philemon, 'as an Apostle, I might command (yet I prefer to plead).'

It was this unity of rule that kept the Faithful together in that external unity which we saw to have been intended by Christ. The Decree of Jerusalem was without hesitation extended by the Apostles to the

entire Church, so far as it had then spread. Paul, when writing to the Romans, excuses himself, in a sense, for doing so, because the Roman Church was not his own foundation: yet none the less he feels he can write with full authority to the Christians there. Perhaps in the Apocalypse the collegiate value of the Apostles, as they say, is most beautifully pictured, when they are seen as definitely comparable with the twelve Hebrew Patriarchs, and shine like stars round the Church's head, and when once more they are the twelve foundation-walls of the Church, as, terrace by terrace, she rises to the supreme throne of God and of the Lamb.

Needless to say, within the Apostolic group, Peter exercises his special function. Not only he continues to be named first, but always acts as first, even when with the Apostle John; special miracles attend him—it is his handkerchief that heals—on his account the sick are brought out if so much as the shadow of Peter passing by may fall on them (Acts v. 15); people are described as 'with' Peter just as they had been 'with' Christ; and we read of 'Peter and the rest.' It is 'officially to visit Peter' that Paul first goes to Jerusalem, though James, of whose position there anti-papists like to make so much, was certainly present (Acts ix.; cf. Gal. i. 18, 19). Not only is he the first to unlock the gates of the Church to Gentile as to Jew, but the whole tone of his first Epistle can be at once seen as perfectly different from that of St. Paul when he writes to the Romans. Peter writes an Encyclical to all manner of Churches that he, certainly, had not founded, and does so with perfect consciousness of his jurisdiction over them, just as St. Clement, his successor in the See of

Rome, writes to the Pauline foundation at Corinth, not even on his side of the Empire, and under the very eye, so to say, of the Apostle John, still alive at Ephesus. 'If you will not listen to what Christ says through my mouth,' says Clement in effect, 'know that you are involving yourselves in the uttermost peril.'

I hold, indeed, that the two episodes usually quoted against the Petrine supremacy, at least by old-fashioned Protestants, are conclusive for it. What happens when Paul and Barnabas are summoned to Jerusalem to explain the admission of heathen into the Church without submitting to Mosaic ritual exigencies? Paul and Barnabas are kept waiting in the ante-room till the Apostles shall have got the principles of the thing quite clear. The authorities were to have a free hand for deliberation. Arguments on both sides were heard for a long time. Then Peter stood up and said: 'You know that from long ago God has chosen that the pagans should hear the Gospel from my lips and should believe. God sanctioned this by giving them the Holy Spirit exactly as He did to us. . . . So now why tempt God by laying a yoke on the necks of the disciples that neither our fathers nor we were able to bear? We hope for our salvation through the grace of the Lord Jesus, just as they do.'

Having thus heard Catholic dogma authoritatively announced, they 'all of them kept silence.' *Petrus locutus est*. Paul and Barnabas were then fetched in, and told the wonderful things that God had done during their mission. Everyone praised God; and finally James, Bishop of Jerusalem, rose and said that Peter had reminded them of the divine ruling, and was in union with the prophets in so teaching. Therefore

pagan converts must not be interfered with. He asked however, that they be told to abstain from 'impurities of idols, fornication, strangled food, and blood.' There is good reason to think that James was already asking what had constantly to be insisted on later—that Christians should so far as possible abstain from eating food that had come from pagan temples, and from any other association with those semi-social, semi-religious pagan entertainments that so easily led to laxity of one sort or another. This was agreed to, and the famous Encyclical was sent out, beginning: 'It has been decided by the Holy Ghost and by us' (Acts xv. 6-29).

The other episode is that of course which St. Paul relates at the beginning of his letter to the Galatians. The Jerusalem decree, like too many decrees, had raised more scruples than it quieted. People saw that ex-pagans need not observe the Jewish ritual—but what about Jewish converts themselves? were they not held to that ritual? was not its observance at least most laudable? Some said that it was. At Jerusalem itself, important persons, like James, clung very naturally to their traditional habits. Peter then came to visit Antioch. For a while, he acted freely according to his interpretation of his own decree, that no one any more was obliged to observe Jewish ritual. He went peacefully to dinner with ex-pagans who invited him. But behold, rigorists from Jerusalem arrived. Peter, while they were there, gave up visiting and eating with ex-pagans. 'He began,' says Paul, 'to draw in sail and to hold aloof, in fear of those of the Circumcision. The rest of the Jew-converts were guilty of the like dissimulation, so much so that Barnabas himself was dragged away with them similarly. So. . . I said to

Kephas before them all: "If you, who are by origin a Jew, live like the Gentiles (as you have been doing) and not like a Jew, how is it that you are now forcing Gentiles to act the Jew?" That is, by the terrific weight of his example, the pagan converts were being morally compelled to do as Peter did, under the very eye of St. Paul, who, though he was responsible for their very existence as Christians, could not outweigh the Prince of all Apostles. Observe that Peter was in a grave difficulty. It looked as if, whatever he did, someone would be bound to go into schism. If he ate with the ex-pagans, the Jew-converts, who did not admit that Jews had the right to dispense with the traditional ritual, whatever the ex-pagans might be allowed to do, would be so shocked that they might quite probably break off from Peter altogether and start a sect of their own. And if he refused to eat with the ex-pagans, some of them would probably say: 'Oh well, we can't possibly be expected to act as Peter does, and take up that appalling weight of observance: we dissociate ourselves from him and will do as Paul says.' Others would say: 'We must conform. We cut loose from those laxists who, under the aegis of Paul, do not act as Peter does.' Peter then, while the Jewish converts were present, decided he would not shock them by eating with ex-pagans. This, coupled with the defection of Barnabas (as he felt it) made Paul desperate. Peter, he felt, was playing false in act to the doctrine he had so truthfully proclaimed, and was dragging others with him. Peter, already and still more later on, might well have retorted with a *tu quoque*. Paul, at this very time, was exulting that his pagan convert Titus was not forced by the older Apostles to be circumcised. None

the less, he himself caused Timothy to be circumcised for the sake of avoiding trouble; and also made vows, let his hair grow, paid for other worshippers in the Temple, and in fact went further, you might say, in his recognition of the permissibility of Jewish observation than Peter now went (Acts xvi. 13: xviii. 18: xx. 6: xxi. 20). What emerges from this episode is: the human weaknesses of the people concerned; the clear distinction between the official functions of 'Peter' and his personal behaviour; the enormous weight of the example of Peter, outweighing altogether that even of Paul.

It is, however, of special value to see that the spiritual power of the Apostles is transmissible; or rather, in part transmissible. The Apostle played two parts: he was Founder, and he was Pastor. Obviously founder-ship could not be transmitted. Either you were a foundation, or you were what was built upon it. But the pastorship and its prerogatives they could, and did, transmit. In this sense you get the origin of the double assertion of the Christian Fathers—that the Church is imperishable, and that in her the Apostolate is immortal. And the best proof that the Apostles held that they could transmit their pastorate is, that they did so.

I think it would be out of place in this lecture to examine closely the exact meaning of terms like *episcopus* and *presbyter* in the New Testament documents: the matter is adequately discussed in the Appendix II to the third volume of the Westminster Series. For me it is enough to indicate that whatever the precise meaning of the several terms may be, the Apostles did, as a matter of fact, 'ordain' men who should, in their turn, do what the Apostles had done. Please notice, in passing, that this was by no means a mere setting

aside for preaching or other pious purposes: there was quite definitely a power in the ordained, put there 'by means of the laying on of hands' (2 Tim. i. 6). The Epistles to Timothy are, of course, very good documents to study in this connection: especially as you see there that those who received the power mentioned from the Apostles' hands can transmit it in their turn in the same way (1 Tim. v. 22: iv. 14: 2 Tim. i. 6: cf. James v. 14). Clement of Rome (1 Cor. xiii. 4: xlv. 1, 2), before the century was out, is found speaking of the 'apostolic succession' as a notorious fact, and the hierarchical organization of the Church, as you perceive it immediately afterwards in the letters of St. Ignatius, could not have existed, let alone be so accurately described, had it not both existed and been officially instituted in the preceding generation. The bones of the skeleton were all there, even the unnamed: the oak-flowers had bloomed, even though they had no petals!

In the Acts and the Epistles, then, you see a Church, solid and concrete, material, external, entered by the gate of Baptism, left through that of excommunication: a Church that is one, by reason of her unity of Faith, a unity preserved, first, because that Faith is not a sentiment, but a doctrine, and a doctrine taught by an official board of teachers, whereof the president is no mere chairman, so to say, elected by his fellows on the board, but, instituted by a superior authority still, namely, Christ. This College, then, of Apostles, headed by St. Peter, not only teaches the truth, under divine guarantee, but imposes the right, under the self-same guarantee, and does so, not only upon the familiar group of Jewish converts, but upon the strange and even harassing folk that came pouring in from afar off,

from the remote mysterious world of paganism—so Catholic does the Church reveal herself forthwith to be. And she is Holy too, and Sanctifying: but this last characteristic of hers is better realised from what I say next.

We have so far studied, as it were, the skeleton of the Church—her *ossatura*—without which indeed she would collapse and melt away; but which, none the less, is not her actual principle of life. This principle of life is nothing less than the life of Christ, with whom she is organically united. Having said that even this truth, and the doctrine that the Holy Spirit's inhabitation within us necessitates an external domicile within which He may dwell, and having therefore made it fully clear that in all that we shall further say we do not for a moment forget what we have already said, we shall pass to a few sentences on that favourite doctrine of St. Paul and of St. John—the Church as the mystical Body of Our Lord.

In his first Corinthian letter he keeps insisting that each Christian singly, and all of them collectively, form the Temple of God, in whom the Spirit dwells. (iii. 16 sqq.): and so relentless is his realism that when he urges the Corinthians to chastity (vi. 12–20) he asks whether indeed a man will dare to take *Christ's* limbs—for we *are* His body, His limbs—and make them the limbs of a wanton? God is our Creator—we are Christ's Body—we are the Spirit's living Temple: in sinning, then, against ourselves, we sin against the whole Most Holy Trinity. Hence, too, men must not quarrel if all, even in the Church, have not the same function. In a living body, the limbs have not identical functions. Yet the Body is one. In one Spirit we have all been baptized

into one Body. If any of it suffer, all of it suffers in sympathy. Impossible for you, you who are 'Body-of-Christ,' to isolate yourselves (xii. 1-11). The glorious panegyric of charity follows (xiii.), and in 2 Cor. v. 11 he puts the matter in a single phrase: 'If a man be in Christ—lo! a *new creature*!' Naturally, it is in the two letters whose very theme is Grace, that the Apostle first states this theme at full length—Galatians and Romans. 'All you who have been baptized into Christ, have *put on* (the person of) Christ. There exists no more Jew nor Greek, there exists no more slave nor free man—nay, no more male nor female—all of you are one person in Jesus Christ' (Gal. iii. 29). 'To be circumcised—to be uncircumcised—that is nothing! But—a new creation . . . the true Israel—*God's* Israel!' (vi. 17). In the letter to the Romans the same doctrine is preached; but as in *Galatians* it is seen as it were largely in the perspective of the controversy between Jewish reaction and the freedom from such obligations that Paul preached; so in *Romans* it is lifted higher, and seen in connection with the whole history of man, of sin, and of nature and supernature.

But in the letters to the Colossians and to the Ephesians the splendour of this doctrine reveals itself most clearly. The whole sweep of truth, from God, through Christ, to us, is exhibited (Col. i. 12-22):

Christ is—

The image of God the Invisible,
Born first, before creation,
Yea, *in* Him are created all things,
Things in heaven, or on earth,
Things visible, and invisible . . .

By means of Him, and unto Him, they all of them are created.

And Himself is prior to all,
 And in Himself do all things hold together.
 Yea, Himself is the Head of the Body, that is, of the
 Church,
 He who is Origin, and again, Firstborn from the dead.

By this great incorporation, then, man lives by the life that is Christ's, and Paul can actually dare to say, keeping his eyes on that total Christ who is Jesus and his Christians in one, that he can 'make up from *my* side what is (still) lacking in the pains of Christ, in my flesh, on behalf of *His* Body, that is, the Church.' And later he will say (ii. 19): 'From this Head the whole Body, kept in life and knit together by means of the joints and sinews, shall grow with the growth that comes from God.' 'In the new humanity,' he repeats (iii. 11), 'there is not "Jew and Greek," "circumcised and uncircumcised," "foreigner, barbarian," "slave, free"; but All and in all, is Christ.' The difference between this letter and that to the Ephesians, so closely connected with it, seems to be that in Colossians Paul emphasizes the truth about Christ so as to be able to allude to the mystical nature of the Church rather as a consequence of it: in Ephesians he similarly insists on the nature of Christ, but in order to develop the doctrine of the mystical body.

'He willed,' he writes (Eph. i.), 'to bring all things as to a head in Christ—things heavenly and things earthly—in Christ, seeing that in Him we have our lot assigned to us. . . . Yes, all things hath (God) set under¹ His feet, and Him hath He placed as the Head Supreme for the Church—that is, His Body—the fulfilling of Him who² is fulfilling Himself, fully, in all things' (*ibid.*). 'Therefore you are no longer strangers and foreigners, but you are

co-citizens of the Saints and of the Household of God, built up on the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the corner-stone. In Him all the building is closely fitted together, and grows into a temple holy to the Lord, in whom you, too, are being built together into a spiritual dwelling-place for God' (ii). Thus 'by means of the Church' the 'multitudinous wisdom of God' is being made known, 'in a heaven-world,' according to the eternal purpose that God achieved in the person of Jesus Christ (iii. 1-12).

All through his letters the Apostle bases, as we have already seen in the matter of chastity, the most practical considerations on this supernatural unity, and first and foremost, charity. 'Be careful,' he says a little later on, 'to preserve the unity of spirit within the bonds of peace. One body, and one spirit, even as your vocation offers you one hope. One Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God, the Father of all, that is over all, and works through all, and is in all' (iv. 1-6); and every human relationship, within State, within family, within household, marriage itself (that 'great Mystery' when seen in due relation to 'Christ and His Church'), is seen in its true light and produces its due consequences only when brought under this vast covering revelation of God, Christ, and our union through Him, with Him, and so, with one another.

I think I have said enough about St. John to dispense me from going all through his gospel and epistles so as to explain his doctrine of the Church. Everyone recalls that his master-key to the whole Christian situation is: Eternal Life; and that this Life can be termed Light, and that the Light is Truth. When St. Paul then speaks of the Church as the Pillar and Ground of Truth (1 Tim.

iii. 15), and in fact whenever he makes use of his image of the Church and of each within it as God's Temple, he would have been welcomed by St. John, who not only attaches so profound a mystical meaning to Christ's own cleansing of the Temple, but uses so sublimely in his Apocalypse the image of the Pillar which the victorious Christian is, incorporated into the living Temple of God. Somewhat as on structural parts of pagan temples was often engraved the name or symbol of the divinity to whom the temple was consecrated, so on the Christian's soul is stamped the Name of God, and of the New Jerusalem, and 'My own new Name' (Apoc. iii. 12). Observe the amazing richness of doctrine contained in this tiny sentence, the richer when you recall how the name was thought to belong to the personality itself:—even, the secret personality underlying the exterior one which meets and is met by other men, the true innermost self, had its own secret name which gave to him who knew it complete power over him who bore it. The gift of that new name, belonging to the new self that grace creates in each, is mentioned somewhat earlier in the Apocalypse—by grace, a whole new life, a new selfhood, springs up in the regenerated soul. But here, you see how the victorious Christian is sealed not only with God's name, having become God's adopted son and partaker of a divine nature, as St. Peter says (2 Pet. i. 4), but is embedded too in the very structure of the New Jerusalem, and has, as it were, the worth of the whole Church in which he holds now his organic place, so that he lives by its total life; and on him too is placed the 'new name' of Christ Himself. What mystery can this be? Simply that not only are we different, through being incorporated in Christ, but Christ in His

condescension, nay, of necessity, is different because He has us incorporated in Him. Owing to us, He has grown somewhat: owing to us, His Body is advanced towards the stature of its maturity: by means of each new soul in grace, 'the walls of Jerusalem are being built up,' as the *Miserere* prays that they may be. The Church is throughout iterative—the one life courses through the entire organism, and Christ and we, we and one another, all of us and Christ, are co-operating, contributing, never in isolation. Even the great preparatory vision at the beginning of the Apocalypse does not tell us all: in it, Christ is seen moving freely about among those burning lamps that represent the groups of Christians that compose His Church: His presence is indeed expressed by this, yet not its incredible intimacy: a hint of this is perhaps given by the fact that He, the Source of Light, holds in His hand—is wholly master of—those seven stars that shine steadily and for ever, and are the 'angels'—in a sense, the spiritual replicas of, the divine idea of—the burning, sometimes flickering, even but smouldering lamps of the seven Churches. At any rate, as the drama pursues itself, in each successive chapter the Church displays itself more clearly again as the Temple, and as Mount Sion, or under the image of the Virgin Spouse of Christ, set over against the World-Wanton, pagan Rome. From depth to depth the eye of the Seer plunges: at first, it lingers upon near-by things—the imminent conflict between the Emperor and his servants, and the Christians of Rome and of Asia; then the whole line of Emperors, the supreme imperial Power in its totality, Rome claiming the full homage of a man, right into his conscience, and expressing this in the worship of the

Emperor and of his image, all this, then, set over against the Church with her rival claim: the Wild Beast sets himself opposite the Lamb: Michael fights with Satan: the World-Wanton derides the Spouse: and to the end of the world the war between the two ultimate Empires, that of the World without God, and of God in His World, is waged. Then from heaven descends the New Jerusalem, at last wholly without flaw or defect, and clothes from head to foot that Mount Sion which is all the earth, so that the whole world becomes at last City-of-God. I wish that I might have had much longer to explain how, in this amazing book, John displays the Church: it is already much to see that this book, whose completely Palestinian, un-Greek quality all confess, shows a doctrine no less complete nor less sublime than that of Paul, and of the Fourth Gospel.

I would like, then, to think that it is clear that Our Lord Jesus Christ founded, personally and deliberately, a Church, that is, a Society, an Institution, within which a body of men was placed to provide that which should enable the Society to perform some of its essential functions—that is, should teach her, that she might teach the world, and should govern her, that she might be holy herself, and sanctifying. These men were placed by Christ under a Head, who, though drawn from themselves, had the full right and duty of ruling them too. This structure was to continue in the Church, so long as the Church continued in the world, that is, for ever. And to this teaching and governing body, and to the man at its head, Peter, was given the grace of infallibility, such that in their official capacity they should be unable to err. We have then already one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, clearly delineated

in the first three gospels. But as the whole doctrine of our incorporation with Christ, and of the gift of supernatural sanctifying grace becomes better known, the supernatural aspect of the Church does so too: she is seen as Temple of God, as Spouse of Christ, as Body of Christ. In her is the source of Light, and in that Light we, who live within her, see all light, and towards her radiance all the nations move.

III.

THE MYSTICAL BODY OF CHRIST.

BY THE REV. HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.M., Doct. S. Script.

IN his search for that Church which he has convinced himself from the Gospels that Christ did found, the enquirer is generally and rightly referred to the four 'marks' which should of necessity characterize that Church. But there is another line of approach which—at least to a certain type of mind—may make more appeal. The mystical type of mind is naturally attracted by St. Paul's picture of the Church as the body of which Christ is the Head. Yet analysis of this concept is peculiarly elusive, and is sometimes productive of views and ideas on the nature of the Church which are hardly sound. We venture to suggest that the reason for this elusiveness is to be found in the fact that that doctrine is with St. Paul a culmination, a corollary, as it were, of positions to which he had been led by degrees from his study of Christ's teaching; and that if we can but recover the previous steps in the argument we shall be in a far better position to grasp what he meant when he spoke of the Church as 'the Body of Christ.'

Study of the New Testament will show us that the Church is there presented as (1) a 'new creation'; (2) the 'Kingdom of God'; (3) a living organism; (4) the 'Body of Christ.'

(1) *Christ's Church is a 'New Creation'*

The Gospels show us that He who was 'a new creature,'¹

¹ Col. i. 16-20.

who taught with authority,¹ who forgave sins² and worked wonders,³ was inaugurating not merely a body of doctrine nor a code of morals, but an institution which was to last not simply for His own lifetime, but to continue after His departure. Thus He speaks of Himself as a 'bridegroom' who is to go on a journey,⁴ though He nowhere expressly states who the bride is. And while the first missions of the Apostles and disciples⁵ were merely transient and local, they were certainly a prelude to an age-long and world-wide mission;⁶ the notion that the powers and duties of the Apostles were to die with them has only to be stated for its futility to become evident. Neither can anyone seriously imagine that the fragments of Apostolic literature which go to make up the New Testament were meant to be an all-sufficient handbook to the Kingdom of Heaven. Christ would not have taught for three years had He simply come to redeem us by His death on the Cross; the New Testament would have been a far more voluminous work had it been intended to be an all-sufficient guide; Christ's own apostolic life would not have been confined to Palestine nor limited to three brief years had He meant His work to cease with His death. That death was, of course, meant to secure our redemption; but His three years' teaching was meant to secure that the fruits of that redemptive work should be applied to the souls of men to the end of time.

Hence while Christ's discourses to the populace, and

¹ Matt. vii. 29, ix. 35, xi. 1, xxi. 23.

² Matt. ix. 2-6. ³ Luke vii. 21, *etc.*

⁴ Matt. xii. 1: Mark ii. 20: Luke v. 35: xxi. 9-27.

⁵ Matt. x. 6-42: Mark iii. 14, vi. 7-13: Luke ix. 1-6.

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 19-20.

His life among them bulk largely in the Gospel narratives, His private work of training the Apostles is given at even greater length.¹ St. Luke puts this forcibly in the opening words of *Acts*,² and the same appears in Christ's frequent allusions to the long space of time to be occupied with the work which He was but inaugurating.³ And the Apostles must—however dimly—have realized this. They felt indeed that they were but a 'little flock,' but they must have felt too that they were in some mysterious way the germ of a mightier thing which was gradually to dawn upon their consciousness. They knew that they were 'called,' that they were a select body, and that therefore some great work lay before them; but only by slow degrees would they fully grasp what they themselves really were and what their destined work was to be. When they heard Christ say: 'Upon this rock I will build My Church,'⁴ what did the word 'Church' convey to them? When some few years later St. Stephen stood before the Sanhedrin he spoke quite naturally of 'the Church in the wilderness,'⁵ or the assembly of the chosen people who, as such, were an institution founded by God Himself. Had that 'chosen people' accepted Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah, then their 'Church,' or the Synagogue, would have insensibly passed into the Christian Synagogue or Church. When, then, the Apostles heard Christ's declaration to St. Peter and noted His denunciations of the Synagogue,⁶ they must have realised that He was

¹ Matt. x. 1-5: Mark iii. 14: Luke vi. 13: cp. Matt. xiii. throughout. ² Acts i. 2.

³ Mark xiii. 10-14, xiv. 9: Luke xii. 50, xvii. 1-2, 9, 22, xix. 11-27, xxii. 16-18, xxiv. 47: John x. 16, etc.

⁴ Matt. xvi. 16-18. ⁵ Acts vii. 38.

⁶ Mark xii. 38-40, cp. Matt. viii. 11-12, xxi. 43, xxiii.: Luke iii., xi. 38-54, xx. 46-47: Rom. iii. 1-3, ix. 2-4.

at that moment doing something equivalent to God's original choice of the Hebrew people as the depositories of His Divine revelation. Because of His rejection by 'His own' He was breaking with the Synagogue, He was creating 'a new thing.' For that is, in effect, what Christ did: He was creating a new thing, a new society—the Christian Church. This 'Church' had its roots in the Synagogue, whence it took much of its nomenclature as well as many familiar ideas; but it was no mere adaptation of existing materials, no simple grafting of a new branch on an old stem. For such grafting that stem had indeed been Divinely prepared, but it had thwarted the intentions of its Creator.¹

'The Lord hath created a new thing upon the earth';² this and many similar prophetic voices find their fulfilment in this new creation which is the Church.

This doctrine was clearly grasped by St. Paul: 'that He might make the two in Himself into one new man'—that is, in Christ, new in the mode of His conception, in His teachings and in the grace He brought us. For Christ Himself was a 'new thing,' or—as St. Paul expresses it—'the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature.'³ But the Church itself is a veritable part of that 'new thing'; for the Church is 'the Body of Christ.' The Apostle never tires of insisting on this: 'He is the head of the body, the Church,' 'His body which is the Church.'⁴ He even goes so far as to enforce his teaching by drawing a parallel between the union of husband and wife and that between Christ and His Church: 'The husband is the head of the wife as Christ

¹ Rom. xi. 11-14.

² Jer. xxxi. 22.

³ Col. i. 15.

⁴ Rom. xii. 4-8: 1 Cor. x. 17, xii. 11-13, 27-28: Ephes. i. 22-23, iv. 1-4, 12-16, v. 23-32: Col. i. 12, 18, 24, 27, iii. 15.

is the head of the Church . . . we are members of His body, of His flesh and of His bones'; and the very reality of the parallel thus drawn means the glorification of Christian marriage: 'I speak in Christ and in His Church.'¹ Nor are these chance statements. They are the very warp and woof of the Apostle's thought, they lie at the root of his wonderful analogies between the complexity—and accompanying simplicity—of the human body and the diversity in unity of the Church in her members. They find perhaps their highest expression in his trumpet-call to unity:—

Keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

One body and one spirit, as you are called in one hope
of your calling,

One Lord, one faith, one baptism,

One God and Father of all, who is above and through
all and in us all.²

The Church, then, is depicted by St. Paul as one homogeneous whole, made up of countless members, each with their respective gifts which they are to use for the 'building up'³ of that same Church down the ages. What is it that unites them? Charity, of course; but it is a charity based upon oneness of creed. Nor is it sufficient here to understand by charity mere love one for another. It is something deeper than that; it is the charity or love which the members of the body must have for their head; a love which is instinctive and which lies at the root of the love which the members of the body bear one towards another, and which we see exemplified in the instinctive way in which all the members of the body unite in defence of the head. Now, whereas the basis of the love which the members

¹ Eph. v. 23-33.

² Eph. iv. 1-4.

³ Eph. iv. 12.

of the body bear to the head is instinct, it has in a corporate society to be based on reason; the members must 'believe' in their head. Hence we say that the bond of charity must be based on oneness of creed. That is to say, the members of the Church must be one in their attitude towards their head. They must not merely believe in its existence, but in its nature and attributes.

This, and this alone, will explain the harmonious and persistent witness which the Church has in every century borne to 'the faith once delivered to the Saints.'¹ That 'Body of Christ' which now is, has never ceased to be. No event in history since the day she was founded has ever taken place, but she was there to witness it and bear witness to it. The Resurrection took place—and the 'body of Christ' was there and told us of it, and tells us of it to-day. It was the same with the Ascension, with Pentecost, with the dramatic unfoldings of the visions in the isle of Patmos, for 'Lo, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world!'² and 'My Church,' He says by His Apostle, 'is the pillar and ground of truth,'³ and 'the sure foundation of God.'⁴

What has been said may throw light on the use of the word 'Gospel' by St. Paul. It is 'the Gospel of God,'⁵ 'of Christ';⁶ it is 'my Gospel' or 'our Gospel';⁷ it is preached everywhere;⁸ in it Christians are said to be 'begotten'⁹ and thus form 'the Church of the first-

¹ Jude 3: cf. Col. i. 26.

² Matt. xxviii. 20.

³ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ 2 Tim. ii. 19.

⁵ Rom. xv. 16: 1 Thess. ii. 2, 8-9: 1 Tim. i. 11.

⁶ Rom. xv. 29: 1 Cor. ix. 12: 2 Cor. ii. 12, x. 14: 1 Thess. iii. 2: 2 Thess. i. 7, etc.

⁷ Rom. xvi. 25: 2 Cor. iv. 3, etc.

⁸ Rom. xv. 20, xvi. 25: 1 Cor. i. 17, etc.

⁹ 1 Cor. iv. 14, cf. Ephes. i. 13.

born¹ and 'an immovable Kingdom'² which is described as 'the Kingdom of God'³ or as 'the Kingdom of Christ.'⁴ It is something fresh, a new departure, so that the Apostle can speak of 'the beginnings of the Gospel'⁵ as being 'a mystery,'⁶ since it is the Gospel or 'Good tidings' of salvation for 'the uncircumcised.'⁷ In a word: it is the charter of the new Kingdom,⁸ and those who accept it thereby become members of that Kingdom. Clearly acceptance did not mean mere acquiescence in the fact that Christ preached this or that doctrine, but that He preached it with an authority that could not be gainsaid. Why not? Why could not His teaching have been erroneous? Simply because He was God Himself who had become man for us. Unless we grasp this point in St. Paul's teaching we lose the clue to his doctrine. For the 'Apostle of the Gentiles' had to prove to unwilling listeners that though 'salvation is of the Jews,'⁹ yet it was meant for all men whether Jews or Gentiles.¹⁰ None but God Himself, the Author of salvation, could thus authoritatively overthrow the unique position of the 'Chosen People.'

The same features reappear when we turn to the Apostle's use of the word 'Church.' Of course there are the individual local churches,¹¹ whether of cities or districts; but then there is also 'the Church' as a whole¹² and the Church 'in every place,'¹³ also

¹ Heb. xii. 22-24.

² Heb. xii. 28.

³ Gal. v. 21: 1 Cor. iv. 20, vi. 10, xv. 50: 1 Thess. ii. 12.

⁴ 2 Tim. iv. 1, 18.

⁵ Phil. iv. 15.

⁶ Eph. i. 9, vi. 19: Col. iv. 3-4.

⁷ Rom. xv. 8-12: Gal. ii. 7, 26-29: Eph. i. 13: Col. iii. 10-11.

⁸ 2 Tim. ii. 19.

⁹ John iv. 22.

¹⁰ Eph. iii. 1-9.

¹¹ Col. iv. 15-16.

¹² Eph. iii. 21.

¹³ 1 Cor. i. 2: 2 Cor. ii. 14: 1 Thess. i. 8.

'the priests of the Church',¹ there are too, the various grades in the Church,² and the exclusion of women from official position in it.³ There is, too, the grouping of the Churches: 'all the Churches,'⁴ *etc.* And this 'Church' is 'the Church of God,'⁵ 'The House of God,'⁶ 'The Flock of God.'⁷ Moreover it is depicted as composed of the teachers and the taught.⁸ Thus we find the laity—as opposed to the Apostles and the Ancients;⁹ these laity, too, are described as 'confirmed in the truth,'¹⁰ and they are ruled over by the Bishops,¹¹ though the priests of the Church are warned that they are not 'to lord it' over the people,¹² while at the same time the people are urged to obey their prelates.¹³

The impression given throughout the *Acts of the Apostles* and the *Epistles* is of an immense homogeneous body¹⁴ spread throughout the known world, holding to the same doctrines and ceremonies, obeying the same rulers, sharing in the same Sacraments, and though differing in speech and habits, yet bound together in a unity derived from a source which is not of this world.¹⁵ And this assuredly is what Christ meant when He declared to Pilate that His Kingdom was not of this world.¹⁶ He did not mean merely that His Kingdom

¹ Jas. v. 14. ² 1 Cor. xii. 4-31: Eph. iv. 11-16.

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 34: 1 Tim. ii. 11-15. ⁴ Rom. xvi. 4, 16.

⁵ 1 Cor. i. 1: 2 Cor. i. 1: Gal. i. 13, *etc.* ⁶ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁷ Acts xx. 28: 1 Pet. v. 2. ⁸ Matt. xxviii. 19-20.

⁹ Acts xv. 22. ¹⁰ 2 Pet. i. 12.

¹¹ Acts xx. 28: 1 Thess. v. 12: 1 Tim. iii. 5.

¹² 1 Pet. v. 3. ¹³ Heb. xiii. 7, 17, 24.

¹⁴ 1 Cor. iv. 17, xi. 22, xiv. 4, 5, 12: 2 Cor. viii. 18-19, 23-24, xi. 8, 28, xii. 13: 1 Pet. iv. 17, v. 2: Acts, xx. 28.

¹⁵ John xvii. 21-23: Eph. iv. 1-6: Col. iii. 15.

¹⁶ John xviii. 36.

was an unearthly one in the sense that it came down from heaven as He Himself had done. It was a Kingdom established on this earth, and composed of men with human passions, but its principles, its doctrines and its aims, were essentially of another world, and were meant to sanctify men's lives here as a preparation for that other world. The bond between those living the Church's life on earth and that other world towards which they were tending was the Personality of Christ who,¹ owing to His dual nature, belonged to both worlds, who as surely reigned now in heaven, 'ever living to make intercession for us,'² as He had lived, suffered and died here on earth. From His Cross and Passion our Redemption had flowed; from His Body continuing on earth that Redemption was to be applied down the ages.

The Church of Christ is, then, a 'new thing.' But that must mean that it is a specific creation by God, something as distinct from anything else as any other of God's creatures. This involves its indestructibility, since none but the Author of nature can destroy nature. Further still: every specific nature has its own characteristics, features which belong to it alone, and which, while not constituting its nature, yet flow from it inevitably—for only men laugh, pigs grunt, horses whinny, and asses bray; this 'new thing,' then, this new special creation of God, which is His Church, must have its own peculiar and unmistakable features marking it off from every other. It must—like any other thing in nature—be one and indivisible, so that, just as the nature of horse or cow can never be broken up or disintegrated, so, too, the Church itself can never be broken up; it

¹ See the expression 'in Christ,' notably in the *Epistle to the Ephesians*. ² Heb. vii. 25.

must—since founded by Christ in the person of His Apostles—be stamped with its apostolic descent; it must—since founded by the All-Holy for ensuring men's holiness — be itself holy; lastly—since founded for applying to all men of all times and places all the teaching and redemptive work of Christ—it must be Catholic or Universal in every aspect of that term; that is, it must at all times be ready and able to teach all men all the Christian revelation.

Further, this 'new thing,' this 'Church' which Christ founded, patently it was a society, an assemblage. But was it merely an assemblage of believers? of those who had 'the Spirit'? Some definite qualifications must have been required for membership. Members must of course have been believers; but believers in what? In the mere fact of Christ's existence? Such a notion is unthinkable. Or was the bare fact that a man accepted Christ's teaching enough? Can we imagine that it was sufficient for a man to accept such teaching as that embodied, for instance, in the Sermon on the Mount? In other words: was belief in the sufficiency of Christ's teaching an adequate condition for membership of His Church? When a man heard Christ's demand: 'Come to Me, all ye that labour, and ye shall find rest for your souls,'¹ did he become a member of Christ's Church by the simple acceptance of such a demand? As a rational being no man could accept such a statement without some reason, more especially when he reflected on the prodigious character of the demand. For something more than acceptance of a doctrine is here required. A Personality presents itself, and it is not so much His doctrine men are asked

¹ Matt. xi. 29-30.

to accept—as Himself. Nor was it merely acknowledgment of a personal charm that He demanded; that was without question a factor making for membership of Christ's society, but it was not the goal so much as the road to it. The goal was incorporation with Himself. But how was this to be brought about, and in what does it consist?

The Gospels do hint at certain specific qualifications or conditions for membership; for instance, Baptism and Repentance.¹ But then Baptism is—at least from one aspect—merely the outward sign of an inward repentance, its complement—so to speak. Why should a man repent when Christ told him to do so? Supposing that at a later period doubts should arise as to what really constituted repentance and consequent forgiveness, how were such questionings to be settled? Supposing that the very validity of Christ's claims were to be called in question, how were such questionings to be appeased? Can we imagine that problems like these could have been left to the individual conscience, that men should be told that Church-membership did not depend on the determination of such questions?

(2) *Christ's Church is a 'Kingdom'*

When Christ opened His mission He preached saying: 'Repent, for the Kingdom of God is at hand!'² The 'Kingdom of God'? What did that mean? Did Christ simply mean to affirm that the next world was dawning or that the Last Judgment was speedily approaching? If so, then He was either mistaken or

¹ Matt. iii. 8-10: John iii. 3-5: Acts ii. 37-38, iii. 19.

² Mark i. 15.

said what was false—both of which notions are unthinkable. The explanation must lie in the meaning attaching to the expression 'Kingdom of God.'

In the first place the expression 'Kingdom of Heaven' seems to denote many aspects of one and the same thing. Thus we read of 'the mystery of the Kingdom,'¹ of 'the word of the Kingdom,'² of a Kingdom which is 'beyond price,'³ which is something 'planted,'⁴ something which grows and becomes immense,⁵ which is a vitalising principle comparable to the leaven or yeast which we put into flour.⁶ Further, in this Kingdom which Christ institutes are both good and bad, elements which are ultimately to be separated out;⁷ indeed the term 'Kingdom' is applied to the actual process of elimination of the bad and glorification of the good.⁸ Moreover this 'Kingdom' is depicted as the very goal at which we have to aim;⁹ it is a final state spoken of as 'the Kingdom of the Father' or 'of God'¹⁰ or 'of heaven,'¹¹ as 'the Regeneration,'¹² as 'life everlasting'¹³ or simply as 'life.'¹⁴ Admission to it is a reward,¹⁵ a free gift of God.¹⁶ Yet we have to strive to enter,¹⁷ and it is said to suffer violence.¹⁸ The key to entrance is humility,¹⁹ and in some peculiar sense the Baptist is the least in it.²⁰ And while

¹ Matt. xiii. 11: Mark iv. 11: Luke viii. 10.

² Mark iv. 11: Luke viii. 10.

³ Matt. xiii. 45-46: Mark iv. 6-29. ⁴ Matt. xiii. 31-32.

⁵ *Ibid.* ⁶ Matt. xiii. 33. ⁷ Matt. xiii. 47-50. ⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Matt. vi. 33, xix. 12-23: Luke xii. 31, xiv. 15.

¹⁰ Matt. xxvi. 29: Mark xiv. 25: Luke xxii. 18.

¹¹ Matt. vii. 21, *etc.* ¹² Matt. xix. 28: Acts iii. 20.

¹³ Matt. xix. 23. ¹⁴ Matt. xviii. 8-9: Mark ix. 41-46.

¹⁵ Matt. xx. 1-16, xxii. 1-14, xxiv. 24, 31.

¹⁶ Matt. xxii. 14, *etc.* ¹⁷ Matt. vi. 33: Luke xii. 31.

¹⁸ Matt. xi. 12, xix. 12, 23: Luke xvi. 16.

¹⁹ Matt. v. 3-12, xviii. 1-4. ²⁰ Matt. xi. 11: Luke vii. 28.

it is at hand owing to Christ's presence amongst us,¹ it is yet to last till the Day of Judgment.² It is called 'the Gospel of the Kingdom,'³ it is the undivided Kingdom of God;⁴ and finally this it is which Christ and His Apostles preached.⁵

Thus this 'Kingdom' seems to be at once 'at hand' and future, a starting-point and a goal, a state of soul and a prize which we have to earn. More significant perhaps than all, the Aramaic term 'malkuth,' which we render 'Kingdom,' would seem, strictly speaking, to mean God's ruling over us rather than His Kingdom—a sense which is disclosed in the petition, 'Thy Kingdom come.'

Nor do the above meanings cover all the ground occupied by the expression 'Kingdom of God' as used in the Gospels. For in such Parables as those of the treasure, the net, the field oversown with tares,⁶ this 'Kingdom' is described as the world in which Christ at His coming had sown good seed—that is, the children of the Kingdom,' whereon the devil had sown bad seed. And these two elements—the good and the bad—are to continue till the harvest which Christ Himself interpreted as 'the end of the world.' Hence while the 'Kingdom' does indeed denote God's ruling in our hearts, it also denotes those over whom God would thus rule, as also the very goal towards which that 'ruling' leads us, as, for instance, when that 'Kingdom' is called 'life,' 'life everlasting,' 'the regeneration,' 'the times of refreshment,' *etc.*

¹ Matt. xii. 28: Luke xi. 20.

² Matt. xi. 21-24, xii. 36-37, xiii. 37-43, xvi. 27, xxiv. 14, xxv: Mark viii. 38, xiii., *etc.*

³ Matt. ix. 36, xxiv. 14. ⁴ Matt. v. 22-28, xii. 28: Acts xix. 8

⁵ Luke iv. 43, viii. 1, ix. 11, x. 9-11: Acts i. 3, viii. 12, *etc.*

⁶ Matt. xiii. 25.

Further still: the 'Kingdom of Christ'¹ seems to be clearly distinguished from the 'Kingdom of God,'² as also from the 'Kingdom of heaven.'³ Not that Christ's Kingdom is in any sense a figure of speech, nor that He has merely vague moral rights to our allegiance—were that so He could not be our inexorable Judge hereafter.⁴ No, His is a true 'Kingdom'; it shall have no end,⁵ and at every turn His formal Kingship is declared.⁶ But it has this peculiar feature about it, that precisely as the Father had delivered it to Him, so does He hand it on to His Apostles,⁷ and in return for their government of it they are to sit with Him in the 'Kingdom of Heaven';⁸ while finally, 'at the consummation' He is to hand this same 'Kingdom' to His Father.⁹

We shall do less than justice, then, to the expression 'Kingdom of God' if we confine our attention to any single aspect of it. We must view it from every standpoint. Thus it is heaven—or 'the consummation' where we shall reign with God and His Christ;¹⁰ yet the steps, too, whereby we arrive at that consummation are spoken of as the Kingdom of God, since these steps are in God's power and are His most perfect means for bringing us to that goal.¹¹ This Kingdom, too, is Christ's reign in our hearts,¹² brought about by the means He has fashioned, and which He will have brought to their

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 1, 18: 1 Tim. vi. 15: Col. i. 13.

² Mark ix. 46: Rom. xv. 29: 1 Thess. ii. 2, 29: 1 Tim. i. 11.

³ Matt. xxiii. 13. ⁴ John v. 22-30. ⁵ Luke i. 33.

⁶ e.g., Matt. xxvii. 11, 37, 42: Apoc. i. 5, 19, iii. 7, xi. 4, 15, 17, xii. 10, and throughout.

⁷ Luke xxii. 29.

⁸ Matt. xix. 28: Luke xxii. 29.

⁹ 1 Cor. xv. 24.

¹⁰ Luke xiv. 15.

¹¹ Acts xix. 8.

¹² Luke xvii. 21.

consummation when He shall have brought us to reign with Him in glory.

Moreover, this 'Kingdom' is a Society from which the patriarchs of old are in a sense excluded, and in which even the Baptist is reckoned as 'the least.'¹ Yet these great Saints, who 'saw the promises from afar and saluted them,'² cannot be excluded from the Kingdom of heaven; in fact their presence in it is to be a shock to those who boasted themselves 'children of Abraham,' and yet found themselves shut out from the Kingdom.³

What, then, is this 'Kingdom' which is called now 'God's,' now 'Christ's,' which is handed over to the Apostles, which—when finally purified—is delivered by Christ to His Father, which Abraham and the Patriarchs longed to see, but saw only in Prophecy, into which they entered not and yet did not therefore lose their right to the Kingdom of God, into which many of their children 'according to the flesh' refused to enter and therefore lost the right of admission to the Kingdom of God? Is it not clearly identifiable with that 'new thing' which Christ instituted when the 'church of the Fathers' failed Him?

It is a 'new thing,' a new entity now first called into existence. It is a Kingdom with all the apparatus pertaining to it, with rulers and governors, with subordinates and subjects, teachers and disciples, doctrines, rites and ceremonies.⁴ Christ Himself has indeed returned to heaven, but 'I will not leave you orphans,'⁵ He says; hence His promise to send His Spirit to be the

¹ Matt. xi. 11: Luke vii. 38.

² Heb. xi. 13.

³ Matt. xxi. 43-45: Luke xiii. 28.

⁴ 1 Cor. x. 16-21, xi. 20-24: Heb. vi. 1-2, xiii. 9-10.

⁵ John xiv. 18.

indwelling, vivifying principle of the Kingdom. He has founded.¹ That Spirit is to teach His Church all truth,² to guarantee that it shall faithfully preserve the truth that Christ has committed to it: 'He shall bring to your minds whatsoever I shall have told you.'³ Further, this Kingdom is to remain one and undivided to the end;⁴ by this very indivisibility it is to be a witness to its Founder's Godhead.⁵

This enables us to appreciate the fulness of the commission given to the Apostles on the eve of Christ's Ascension. For that commission stamps His Kingdom on earth with an ineffaceable seal; even the very words in which it is couched are cast in a rhythmical mould:—

'*All* power is given to Me in heaven and on earth.
 Going therefore teach ye *all* nations;
 Baptizing them in the Name of the Father and of the
 Son and of the Holy Ghost;
 Teaching them to observe *all* things whatsoever I have
 told you.
 And behold I am with you *all* days even unto the consum-
 mation of the world.'

Universality—or Catholicity—of power, place, doctrine and time could not be more emphatically set forth. Christ's Kingdom, then, as He leaves it at that supreme moment, is—despite the fewness and insignificance of its members—to spread to the end of the earth, to last to the end of time, to teach unerringly the whole of His doctrine; and for that end it is endowed with the fulness of power.

This eternal Kingdom of Christ was foreshadowed in the words of Ps. xlv: 'Thy throne, O God, is for ever

¹ John xiv. 16–17, 26, xvi. 7. ² John xvi. 13.

³ John xiv. 26. ⁴ John xvii. 20–22. ⁵ John xvii. 23.

⁶ Matt. xxviii. 19–20, cp. xxvi. 13; Mark xiv. 8.

and ever; the sceptre of Thy Kingdom is a sceptre of righteousness.' Christ's is an eternal Kingdom because He is God; also, as He Himself says, because His Kingdom is 'not of this world'; it is meant to lead men to the eternal Kingdom, though He is here speaking of Himself as man. 'The Church,' says St. Thomas, 'which is His Kingdom, lasts to the end of the world, and then Christ will deliver that Kingdom to God and the Father to be consummated and perfected.'¹

This concept of the Church as the Kingdom of God here on earth involves its power to govern itself, its legislative and punitive powers such as censures, excommunications, interdicts, *etc.* Like any other kingdom on this earth the Church must have the right and the duty to condemn those who cause schisms in her body. She owes this as a duty to herself as governing, to her members as being imperilled by such dissensions. Moreover since the Church is set before us in the New Testament as essentially a teaching body, it is primarily in the domain of doctrine that she will be called upon to exercise her legislative office. She must lay down doctrine, that 'form of sound words' of which St. Paul so constantly speaks; she must be able to punish heretics, to discern the false from the true, to discern the deepest implications of any doctrine according as need shall arise, *e.g.*, in questions on the precise meaning and implications of the Incarnation of Christ her Head.

¹ On Heb. vii., note, too, the following: ' "The Kingdom of God is not meat and drink" (Rom. xiv. 17); the Kingdom of God in this passage signifies that whereby God reigns in us and whereby we arrive at His Kingdom . . . Whence it comes that the Kingdom of God is primarily concerned with the interior spirit of a man rather than with his external acts, whence it is said, "the Kingdom of God is within you" (Luke xvii. 21)' (St. Thomas on Rom. xiv. 17).

And if the Kingdom has its rights and duties, the same holds good for the subjects of the Kingdom. They must, for instance, accept the Constitution in its entirety or not at all. An Englishman, for example, cannot say, 'I am an Englishman down to *Magna Charta*, but not afterwards.'

(3) *The Church is an Organism*

Most—if not all—will readily acknowledge that this Kingdom is the Church of Christ; but many will persist in regarding that Church or Kingdom as merely an organization which Christ indeed founded, but which He delivered into the hands of men, and which it was in their power to wreck if they chose.

But is such a view possible? Is it compatible with any sound view of 'the miracle of miracles,' the Incarnation? Christ was God-made-man. In other words, the one Person—the Second Person of the Holy Trinity—dwelt in the two natures, the human and the Divine. We know what that involves. We human beings have two principles *whereby* we act, namely, body and soul; but there is only one principle *which* acts, to which the responsibility for every act and the endurance of every suffering is referred, and that is our personality. It is always 'I' who do or suffer, whether it be through the medium of my body or of my soul. That is why our doings or sufferings are described as 'human.' For the same reason all the acts and sufferings of Christ are Divine, since the one principle which acted in His case was the Divine Person. Thus, and thus only, can we say that in the Incarnation God digested, God prayed, and that on the Cross God died. Hence follows, too, the absolute perfection of all that He did and suffered.

Upon the validity of this concept rests the efficacy of His redemptive act. It was not merely that God accepted the sacrifice of Christ upon the Cross; God Himself offered Himself to Himself.

Now the same argument must hold good for Christ's institution of His Church which, as the work of God-made-man, must have been a perfect work. It is the same with Christ's prayer for the unity of His Church. When He prayed: 'Father, that they may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee,' this was not simply a prayer of hopeful petition, wrung from His human nature, which instinctively and inevitably shrank from pain in the agony in the garden, but immediately subordinated itself to His human reason: 'nevertheless, not My will, but Thine be done!' The prayer for the unity of His Church was the creative 'fiat' of the same God who said 'Let there be light.' It was not, in short, *Oratio deprecativa in spe*, but *creativa in re*. In a word: Christ who was God made His Church one, and no human power can rend that Divine unity. This conception lies at the root of the Church's action whenever such ideas as Corporate Reunion have come to the fore; you can only re-unite what has ceased to be one. It also cuts at the root of the idea that the Church is simply an organisation set going by Christ when 'He walked on earth amongst us men,' and which He left in our hands for us to make or mar at will.

This will become clearer if we examine more closely the notions of an organization and an organism respectively.

An organ means that whereby some vital function is exercised; thus the brain, the eye, the arm are organs whereby the vital powers of the mind fulfil themselves

in various ways. But it would be a misuse of terms to speak of the piston of an engine as an organ; for the engine has no vital powers of its own which it can communicate to the piston, but only such as are provided for it from without. Nor would it be correct to speak of the engine itself as an organ whereby man carries out his work; for while an engine is the product of man's ingenuity, there is no vital or intrinsic connection between man and the engine.

But, owing to a vital and intimate connection, man's various bodily organs respond to his mental impulses by reason of powers actually inherent in them. Things thus composed of some central principle, and of organs through which the behests of that principle are carried out, are termed *organisms*. They are living wholes with homogeneous, coherent, mutually adapted parts or members. In some cases—as in animals—the controlling principle is dependent for its very existence on the permanence of the members it controls; if they perish, it also perishes. But in men this controlling principle is only dependent on the bodily organs for the exercise of some, not all, of its functions, nor for its own existence. When these organs wear out, the soul, which used them and fulfilled its temporary destiny by so doing, is no longer able to act in the same way as when in the body, yet it does not therefore cease to exist. But an *organization* is a very different thing.

For an organization means an assemblage of men for the better securing of a particular object in view; a club, with its controlling head, with its committees, with the various members who join it for the sake of the advantages thence accruing, is a good example. Men unite to form various societies or organizations because

of various natural needs, *e.g.*, self-defence, mutual improvement, social or natural needs, opportunities, physical exercises, and so forth. All such needs have their roots, of course, in the soul, yet some of them may concern the soul more directly and may intimately affect its eternal welfare. Hence arise purely spiritual societies intended to meet the needs of the soul itself.

Are these spiritual societies organisms, or are they merely organizations?

Clearly no vital or intrinsic connection subsists between the controlling head and members of a club. Members join because they choose, and leave when they choose. If all chose to leave, then the head would at once cease to be a head, simply because there would be no members left for him to govern. Yet the more any organization arises from and expresses needs which spring from nature itself, and not from purely artificial demands, the greater its tendency to become permanent; the longer it continues, and the more perfectly it fulfils its purpose, the more it approximates to a living organism, and the closer becomes the bond between head and members. The less vital needs of men are met by organizations which, by the very fact that they are framed to meet needs not absolutely vital, are of less vital and, therefore, less permanent character. Thus sporting clubs cannot last indefinitely, whereas benefits clubs—which meet more fundamental needs—may be of longer endurance; while States and Nations—which are fundamentally associations for mutual defence—are the most abiding. And since propinquity, environment, climate, and similarity of tastes arising from identity of needs and interests tend to produce uniform language as well as similarity in mind and thought, such

organizations become homogeneous and, in the end, second nature, so that ultimately they approximate very nearly to self-contained organisms.

Is Christ's Church, then, an organism or an organization? We have seen that an organization contains within itself the seeds of disruption. Hence, if the Church is no more than an organization, then, however genuine the needs it is meant to meet, men may yet refuse to recognize the existence of such needs; or, while acknowledging them as a fact, may yet decline to regard the Church as the best means for satisfying them. Again, while acknowledging the existence of these needs, and also the capacity of the Church for meeting them, men may—if the Church is only an organization—radically change her character and scope. They might end by altering it into something which its Founder never contemplated.

But if the Church is an organism, then it is something created by God, and as such can never be destroyed by man. Man can thwart its action, can persecute its members; but he can never change its nature any more than he can at will change other created natures or organisms with which we are familiar. No power save that of God—the Author of nature—can destroy the nature of a horse, though other powers can mutilate or kill individual members possessing that nature.

We often hear ideas put forth which in one way or another involve what has been termed 'a Branch-theory' of the Church. But it is well to note that a tree is an organism, and is capable of reproducing its kind, other organisms of the same specific nature. But it is only by its own corruption that it is capable of doing so. The 'Branch-theory' is philosophically a hopeless

concept. For if it means anything at all it must mean that from one and the same trunk have sprung branches which are specifically different, since they differ in fundamentals. When varying branches are seen on a single stem this is simply due to grafting, and in that case the branches contribute nothing to the stem but derive their powers from it. A perfect example of a Branch-theory is afforded by the Uniat Churches. But that is something very different from the Branch-theory as it is commonly understood.

When a living branch falls from a tree or is removed from it, it retains a certain amount of sap which flowed into it from the parent stem. So long as this remains, the fallen branch will continue to bear leaves and even a certain amount of fruit; but before long it will show signs of decay and split up into its component parts.

(4) *The Church is 'the Body of Christ'*

What, then, is the relationship between Christ Himself and this organism which is His Church? Christ Himself was, as we have seen, unique in that while His Person was that of God, that same Person subsisted in two natures—the human and the divine. In this sense He was unique; not that He was some strange admixture of God and man, a being neither divine nor human; but in Him the two natures were each of them complete, not commingled nor confused.

The key-note in St. Paul's teaching on this Mystical Body of Christ is to be found in the passage wherein he begins to set forth the analogy between the human body

with its many diversified yet unified members and this 'mystical' body.

Now there are diversities of graces, but the same Spirit.
And there are diversities of ministries, but the same Lord.
And there are diversities of operations, but the same
God who worketh all in all.

Wishing to combat the spirit of dissension prevailing in the Corinthian Church, the Apostle does so by laying down the fundamental principle of unity. But he first of all insists on the distinction between 'graces' or free gifts, such as that of speaking in divers tongues, 'ministries' or service, and 'operations' or powers; and while all these flow from the One God, they are here attributed severally to the Holy Spirit, the Son and the Father. Thus we 'minister' to a master or lord—the members of the body to the head; life flows to the members from the vivifying principle—the heart or the Spirit; while various powers or 'operations' proceed from the Creator.

He continues: 'As the body is one and hath many members; and all the members of the body, whereas they are many, yet are one body; so also Christ. For in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body . . .,' and he proceeds to develop the analogy of the human body with its unity amid diversity, and concludes: 'Now you are the body of Christ, and members one of another.' Clearly his concept is that of an immense body, the Head of which is Christ and the members all Christians.

To return to the distinction drawn by the Apostle between 'graces,' 'ministrations,' and 'powers' or operations. It is clear that the members of the human body are not precisely members because they have certain operations peculiar to them or can do certain things,

as the feet, for instance, can walk or the eyes can see. But because the various members possess these faculties they are therefore in a position to become actually 'members' of the body; for it is only because my hand possesses the power of grasping that it can actually serve my body and thus minister to it. Similarly gifts or 'graces' in my intellect do not make my mind a 'member' of my body so much as equip it to be such, and so be capable of administering to it more effectually. 'Operations,' then, are from God as the Author of nature, 'gifts' are superadded qualifications, 'ministrations' are the outcome of the two. Consequently the 'Mystical' body of Christ is but another term for 'servants' of Christ.

It is not so much then by what we are or by the gifts we have that we are members of Christ, but by the service these qualifications enable us to render Him. Hence the 'Mystical' Body of Christ is composed of those who serve Him, that is, of those who believe in Him and reduce their faith to practice.

Moreover, when the various members of the body really serve and minister to it, they thereby become subservient to the head as the directive principle of them all, and are thus unified. Further, since they can only render effective service by harmonious interworking, a certain unity between themselves necessarily results. In the body corporate—for example, in any state or society—the analogy with the human body is evident in this respect; such bodies work harmoniously in proportion as the various members are subordinated to the head and united with one another. But the Aristotelian principle of 'matter' and 'form' as the final metaphysical components of each element will guide us to some

remarkable conclusions. For whereas water is, according to this theory, made out of oxygen and hydrogen, yet neither of those elements really exist as such in water; for the respective 'forms' or essences or natures of oxygen and hydrogen are absorbed into or overridden by the nobler form or nature of water; they will only reappear as actual hydrogen or oxygen when the water is—by some higher agency such as electricity—broken up again into its constituent parts. The same principle must, if valid, be applied throughout. Thus though my material body is made up of certain chemical elements, yet none of these actually exists in my body, since they are absorbed into the real 'informing' principle of my body, *viz.*, my soul. When, however, death separates body and soul, the constituent elements of the body return to actual existence, with the further result of putrefaction. In fact, the actual presence of carbons and other elements in the living human body denotes the presence of disease, which again denotes that certain elements are escaping the 'informing' efficacy of the soul and are thus truly 'foreign' bodies.

These principles enable us to realize the Apostle's meaning when he speaks of Christ as one 'from whom the whole body being compacted and fitly joined together,' and says to the faithful 'You are the body of Christ and members one of another,' and again 'We are members of His body, of His flesh and of His bones,' 'He is before all, and by Him all things consist,' that is, 'hold together.' 'And He is the Head of the body, the Church.'

The head is, of course, the directive principle governing every member of the body in proportion as it is subordinate to its influence. How marvellously subtle that

force which, while acting through the medium of nerves and muscles and a multiplicity of channels, yet secures absolute and immediate obedience to behests: my hand rises simultaneously with my brain's determination that it shall rise: 'I live, now not I, but Christ liveth in me.' Moreover that subtle, all-pervading, influence of the head over the members is proportioned to and perfectly adapted to the needs, capacities and powers of each member, so that each, while remaining perfectly subordinate, yet retains its individuality. Nor is this all. There are members of the body which, so far as we can see, are not in direct subordination to the head; we have only to reflect on the myriads of microscopic cells which have every one of them their individual functions which they exercise spontaneously, and perhaps even more effectually when the head and brain suspend their functions during sleep. Yet even these ceaseless, tireless workers depend on the life-spirit within us which distributes its benign influence to every tiniest cell according to its needs and according to its individual nature, whereby it toils for the good of the body as a whole and, 'informed' by the one living all-dominating soul, sacrifices in a sense its individuality in that it is absorbed into that whole, so that its very functions are unintelligible save in relation to that whole.

It is the same in the spiritual life, in that life whereby we are 'members of Christ's body.' In the human body, head and heart alike belong to one personality, and are therefore dominated by one spirit; so, too, we 'are led by the Spirit of God.' And not only are the members one with, and dominated by, the head and the life-spirit, but from that very fact they are intimately united with

one another and live and work in a harmonious interdependence. This inter-working is subtle and hardly appreciable by the senses: even the undeniable union of soul and body is 'mysterious'; much more then is the union between Christ and the members of His body rightly termed 'mystical' or mysterious. There is, in addition, the fact that while many who minister to Christ as His loyal servants are conspicuously such, yet even in their case there must be many aspects of their service at which we can only guess, many which remain totally hidden from us. There are, too, many loyal ministers of whom the world knows nothing—the 'seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to Baal.' Further still: if the number of known loyal ministers to Christ, members of His body is immense, it must yet be fractional compared with the mighty host of those whose visible ministry is over, but who have not therefore ceased to be members of His body.

Nor is this all. In the perfectly sound body every minutest part is in subordination and doing to the full its appointed task. But in the ailing body or in the body recovering from disease there are many elements that are not in complete subordination and are actually a danger to the body. Yet they are part of it. They may in process of time be re-absorbed into complete harmony with the rest, and then all is well. But during the process of absorption they are, to all intents and purposes, in rebellion; yet they are part of the body. And if the general health of the body is insufficient to dominate them, they will end by triumphing over it, and the result will be death. In the struggle many elements will be finally expelled from the body, but until that moment arrives they form part of the body.

It must surely be the same with the wicked. Until they are finally expelled they are members of the body of Christ, rebellious members, it is true, but potentially saints and actually redeemed. It is needful to bear this in mind, for there is a natural tendency to regard the mystical body as simply synonymous with those who are in a state of mystical union with Christ, but that is certainly not St. Paul's meaning.

It is evident that any sane understanding of the Mystical Body of Christ involves the homogeneity of that body, despite the accidental differences characteristic of its various members. It involves also the unity of that body and—since Christ its Head is one—it involves the unicity or uniqueness of it. There cannot be two mystical bodies of Christ. Further, the perpetual influx of the Holy Spirit of Truth negatives the presence of error within the body; sickly members of the human body are not really members as sick, but only in proportion as they are sound. One consequence of this is the incompatibility of any so-called 'comprehensiveness' on points of doctrine among the members of the body. Further still: conflict between members on essential points tends to the disintegration of the body and, unless checked, will mean its death. It must be precisely the same in the mystical body. Unless it possesses and uses the power to expel elements making for destruction, it is doomed. It is impossible to conceive of members who are unknown to the head or who evade His directive action, though there may always be many members who are unknown as such to their fellows.

A further point. If we speak of 'the body of Christ,' and mean thereby the Church of which He is the Head,

then what is meant by 'the soul' of the Church? The question is an important one, for people often say that though a certain person does not belong to the body of the Church, he yet belongs to its 'soul.' The very expression is so consoling that we are apt to welcome it without reflexion. Presumably those who use it mean that those who belong to the body also belong to the soul of the Church. But if we were offered the choice of belonging either to the body or to the soul of the Church, we should presumably opt for the latter rather than the former, seeing that the 'soul' is a much greater thing than the body. In truth this expression is a most misleading one. For what can be the 'soul' of the Church but the Holy Spirit? And while no one would question that people who are not actually members of the Church can have the Spirit of God, it is certain that they do not have the Holy Spirit as 'quickening' the body of Christ which is the Church; hence it is not true that those outside belong to the soul of the Church, though they do belong to Him who is the soul of the Church.

A clear view of the doctrine outlined in the New Testament may help us to answer certain difficulties which present themselves perhaps most of all to students of history. The frame of mind indicated in the following paragraphs is familiar to all who have to deal with enquirers.

Is the Church, as we see it to-day, the same thing as that living organism which Christ planted on earth, that 'new thing' which He called the 'Kingdom of God'? Even if radically the same, are we not compelled to allow that it has grown out of all knowledge, that it has 'developed' along lines which would make it hard even for St. Peter to recognize it? The nucleus may

indeed be there, but has it not been overlaid with such a host of undesirable accretions that its true development on the lines intended by its Founder has been rendered impossible? A man can so pamper his material body that, though his spiritual elements still remain, they cannot find expression; he is still a rational being, yet only with difficulty can he be recognized as such, and he must in consequence be called a failure. Why should it not be the same with the Church which, while remaining the same and indestructible, has yet been stifled in her growth and denied her real development owing to those very material elements the cankerous presence of which was so potently felt even in New Testament days?

And if it be true that this material, human element in the Church has thus unduly prevailed, is it not legitimate, indeed peremptorily demanded, that the same material or human element should reform itself and cut out the cankerous growths which have eaten into the Church's real life? And what is this but the Church reforming herself? It seems absurd to say that the Reformation of the sixteenth century, for instance, was an attempt on the part of the laity to reform the Church from without. For after all, what are the laity save the Church in its lay aspect? Even the highest ecclesiastics were themselves laymen once. Moreover, such a reformation need involve no attempt at changing the Church substantially; it would be merely a clearing of the ditches and channels from overgrowth which impede the free movement of the Spirit.

We have read of efforts made by undergraduates at remodelling their University, and the governing body instinctively dubs such people 'rebels.' But we can

imagine these young men retorting: 'You yourselves were undergraduates once; had you not been so, you would not now be graduates; and what you are now, we ourselves hope one day to be.' But we can also imagine the professorial body replying: 'Precisely; but it was not till we passed from the ranks of the 'taught' to the select corps of the 'teachers' that we had governing and reforming powers. You have not as yet received any commission to teach. Until that time comes, your duty is to receive and accept, not to teach or govern.'

In the same way the teachers of the Church might say to her children who criticise her: 'It is true that, through our own negligence and the very human side of our character which we have allowed to preponderate, certain unfortunate features have been allowed undue emphasis; but it is for us in our official position as teachers to correct such abuses, though it is legitimate for you to point them out to us and urge their removal.' For the distinction does not lie so much between clergy and laity as between the teachers and the taught. Even the Supreme Pontiff himself was once baptized and taught, trained and ordained.

Further, if it be true that Christ in founding His Church really created 'a new thing' which is His Kingdom on earth, an organism with its own inherent principle of life, truly called 'the Body of Christ,' then it will follow that this Church either still exists unchanged and unchangeable, or that it has perished. But, on that latter supposition, what becomes of Christ's solemn promises that 'the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' that He Himself shall be with His Church 'to the consummation of the world,' and that it is to 'teach all nations' all that He commanded them? Christ's

Church, then, must still exist, and it must retain those properties peculiar to it and making it readily discernible, *viz.*, Unity, Holiness, Catholicity and Apostolicity.

It might possibly be retorted that if the above is a just concept, then all the various aspects of Church-life, all the sects and denominations with which we are so familiar, are really nothing more than the efforts of the Church at various epochs to purify herself from undesirable features which have hindered her true development. It might even be argued that all these sects are substantially the true Church of Christ, but that—since she has been at different times and places variously disfigured—the purification called for has produced a divergence of type which is superficial but not substantial. From this it might even be argued that the so-called 'Anglo-Catholic' party in the Church of England has as much right to call itself the Church of Christ purified from certain effects of the Reformation as the Church of Rome of the twentieth century has to call herself the Church of Christ purified by the Council of Trent—the 'counter-Reformation.'

It seems hardly an adequate answer to this to say: 'But where are you to stop?', while the endeavour to show that none of the sectarian churches are really substantially the same as the Church instituted by Christ only leads to interminable wrangling.

The above is a very subtle argument, and one that appears in various guises. Where is the flaw in it? In the failure to distinguish between an organization—which the Church is not, and an organism—which the Church is. For the argument could never be repelled by any mere organization. For organizations split up and divide and subdivide until they become

unrecognizable for what they once were or whence they sprang; whereas even the lowest organisms which multiply by fission remain essentially the same, for the very concept of an 'organism' precludes its changing its nature. But this does not prevent an organism from purging itself from malignant growths or diseases, whether in head or members, though always from within, and only from its own life-giving principle. Moreover, though it may be the members which clamour for reform, just as the members of the human body may cry out that they are not being properly fed, yet they are incapable of producing the change which they demand; they can point the way to it, but the head alone can produce it, from within, not from without.

IV.

THE ANTE-NICENE FATHERS.

BY THE REV. P. G. M. RHODES, D.D., Ph.D., M.A.

THE purpose of this paper is to discuss, from the point of view of modern theology, the ecclesiology of the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

It is always difficult for us to get the point of view that preceded the definition of any point of Faith. The defined dogma is always found to fit in exactly with the rest of the Catholic's mental possessions; it appears in the light of faith, as it were, obvious, so that the preliminary process whereby the Church groped, painfully enough in many cases, for an adequate expression of the tradition she knew to be her own, seems almost wilfully prolonged and unnecessarily hesitant. It is, for example, not easy for this generation to understand the attitude to the Papacy of the generations that preceded the Vatican definitions. The fact that new definitions are so readily assimilated into the mental life of the faithful is a sign that they represent no addition to, but an exposition of, the living doctrinal tradition of the Church.

The peculiar difficulty of the Ante-Nicene period for us consists in the fact that *no* conciliar definitions had so far been made. The Church knew well, and had expressed her mind about the early forms of error, but the whole of that great body of dogmatic decisions that give its characteristic clarity and firmness to Catholic thought was still in the future. What are we

to expect under such circumstances? As the deposit of Faith is unchangeable, we are confident that the Ante-Nicene Fathers *held in reality* those doctrines that were afterwards to be defined, and we should expect to find the more important of them in some fairly explicit form. We should not, however, expect that the *importance* now attributed to a doctrine was in every case attributed to it then. Historical circumstances determine the degree in which the attention of the Church has been directed to this or that point of the faith. So in the Ante-Nicene period the imagination of the faithful had not been struck by the position of Mary in the scheme of redemption, and at first, devotion to her seems lacking; but when Nestorius afterwards denied Mary her title as Mother of God, it was immediately plain enough what the traditional teaching was. The first stage in the development of doctrine is that of 'simple faith'; the dogma is believed, but no special attention is given to it; its implications and consequences are not thought out.

The next step is that of the *early theorists*, and it is here that difficulties arise for future generations. It is peculiar to the human intellect that, proceeding as it does by discursive thought, it cannot at once envisage the whole of a problem. Certain aspects of the doctrine impress the thinkers of the time, who accordingly form theories to harmonize those factors of the problem that they have noticed; but other factors are bound at first to escape their attention. Accordingly the earliest theories are inevitably imperfect; and seem to later generations to ignore factors that to them are manifest enough. In these earliest theories later heretics have their happy hunting-ground; it is only necessary for

them to equate lack of attention with disbelief. If such preliminary theories were propounded at a later period, when attention could not be averted from the omitted factors, they would in fact be heretical; so St. Justin's doctrine of the Blessed Trinity, if suggested by a theologian of the Nicene age, could only imply that such a writer was refusing assent to portions of the deposit of faith. But it would be in gross contradiction to the historical spirit to stigmatize St. Justin as an Arian.

What, then, must be the attitude of the Catholic apologist towards these inadequate presentations of the Faith, that inevitably occur in the early ages of theological thought? In the first place, there is nothing to gain, and all to lose, in distorting the facts. It is not necessary to endeavour to find the theological conclusions as tabulated in a modern manual either stated or implied in the writings of an early Father. It has often to be frankly admitted that such and such a Father held an inadequate theory about some subject that has long since been crystallized into definitions and explicit dogmas. But how are we to prove from an apologetic point of view that in reality the Faith was the same then as now, and that the inadequacy of such a Father's teaching was one of expression alone, and did not imply a defective belief in the sacred Deposit of Revelation? This can be best effected by a comparison of his teaching with that of his contemporaries. It will often be found that those aspects of the problem that one Father had not clearly before his eyes, were at any rate perceived to some extent by other writers of the same period. If nevertheless there was a mutual recognition of orthodoxy between those Fathers who may have dealt more adequately with the subject and those whose

treatment was, from our point of view, defective, it may fairly be deduced that the eccentricities of the latter were due to 'early theorizing,' or inadequate terminology. In addition, a careful consideration of the actual practice of the Fathers whose theories are defective, will often show that their instincts were Catholic enough, even when they did not succeed in fully expressing in word a position they were willing to adopt in deed.

An example may be found in the question of the episcopate. As is well known, in several Fathers of the first and second centuries the distinction between the presbyterate and episcopate finds no verbal expression; notably is this the case with St. Clement of Rome. But in other writers, especially in St. Ignatius, the distinction is most fully expressed and emphasized. If this represented a real divergence of belief, a vigorous controversy was inevitable; the usurpation by the episcopate of the rights of the presbyterate would have constituted a grievance to the clergy of any age. But of such a struggle there is no trace whatever, nor are the Fathers who apparently took different views conscious of any such difference. Bearing in mind the Catholic doctrine, that teaches that there is in fact no difference in sacramental Orders between Bishop and Priest, but simply a divinely appointed distinction between those who possess the same *sacerdotium* in its completeness or in part, the apparent divergence ceases to trouble us. The necessary terminology expressing this difference had not been universally recognized. We are further assured that the difference was largely a verbal one when we consider the practice of the Churches concerned. It was the Church of Rome, conservative even in the

first century, that was especially slow to adopt the new terminology that we find in St. Ignatius. St. Clement, St. Justin, Hermas, all avoid the restriction of the term *episcopos* to the higher rank of the priesthood. But no bishops showed a clearer consciousness of their episcopal authority than did the early Popes. St. Victor, threatening the East with excommunication, was no ordinary priest, a member of a presbyteral *collegium*, but the superior of these other bishops of the East, who quite explicitly distinguished themselves as *episcopi* from the lower level of the presbyterate; while St. Irenæus relates the succession of the bishops of Rome as a fact so obvious to all that it serves him as a chief argument against the innovations of the Gnostics. The Catholic doctrine of the divine authority of the episcopate was both held and acted on at Rome, but the expression of that authority in technical phraseology was accepted only after mature deliberation. Was it really necessary to introduce a difference of name between the higher and lower rank of the priesthood, when St. Paul himself had not clearly used the words with this special connotation? Would not the new terminology lead to a belief that the episcopate was a different *order* to the priesthood, in the same way that the priesthood differs from the diaconate? These, in modern phrasing, were perhaps the difficulties which led to this long hesitation on the part of Rome.

We may now apply these principles that we have established to the question that for Catholics is both the most important and the most interesting in the ecclesiology of the early Church, namely, the recognition of the successor of St. Peter in the See of Rome as the divinely appointed head of the Church on earth.

It is plain that the exact implications of the promise that Our Lord made to St. Peter required careful consideration and a considerable lapse of time before they could be perceived in their fulness. 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth . . . the gates of Hell shall not prevail . . . Feed My sheep.' What did it all imply for St. Peter's successor? Right to excommunicate heretics, the right to supervise and admonish other Bishops . . . that was plain enough from the beginning. No one contemplated the possibility of the Catholic Church not being in communion with the Apostolic See of Rome. Gnostics and Monarchians knew well enough that if the Roman See accepted them as orthodox, they had nothing to fear elsewhere. But did it include the power of the Bishop of Rome to supervise the disciplinary arrangements of other Churches? Had the Pope necessarily the right to hear appeals from the decision of other bishops? Could he interfere between a priest and his own bishop? Could he set aside the instructions that St. John was believed to have given to the Churches he founded? Suppose he acts unjustly or hastily, may his instructions be ignored? Many such questions presented themselves in the early ages of the Church, and not every Father succeeded in answering them correctly at the first attempt. In the Ante-Nicene period the doctrine of the Papacy remains in the first stage; the position of the Bishop of Rome as the successor of the Chief of the Apostles is accepted as a matter of course, and acts that imply universal jurisdiction arouse no complaint on that respect. St. Irenæus rebuked St. Victor for what appeared harshness in threatening to excommunicate the East; but there was no suggestion that St. Victor had not the power to

carry his threat into effect. But, for the most part, attention was simply not drawn towards the particular personal powers that the Bishop of Rome might possess. The Christian of this period did not ask himself whether the Pope was infallible. The Church was infallible, and the Apostolic See was always with the Church. Would a Catholic of the Ante-Nicene period have accepted the Vatican definition of Papal Infallibility? He might have been astonished at what would be an unheard-of way of putting it, but after having the meaning clearly explained to him, would have agreed that it expressed, in an apparently paradoxical way, what he himself believed.

At the same time, difficulties might have been raised by certain thinkers in quite good faith, who were influenced by 'early theories,' just beginning to appear, on the constitution of the Church. On this subject, as on most others, the first theorists did not succeed in including all the factors of the problem. The name that at once occurs to us is that of St. Cyprian; and I think it must be conceded that St. Cyprian propounded theories that are not completely reconcilable with the later formal teaching of the Church. His name has therefore come to be held in high honour among dissidents from the Catholic Church, though nothing would have caused him greater horror. We have therefore to consider his teaching, and ask whether he did in fact reject this point of the deposit of Faith; or whether his views are, in fact, an example of early theorizing, which did not succeed in grasping the whole problem. The latter has always been the verdict of the Church about St. Cyprian.

It is not unfair to point out that St. Cyprian is not

among the great Doctors of the early Church. He is canonized by the Church, not as a Doctor, but as a Martyr; though the canonization implies that his teaching was not fundamentally or finally uncatholic. In addition, St. Cyprian's career was one that rendered it especially difficult for him to avoid errors of detail in matters of theology, doctrinal provincialisms, so to speak. His entire Christian career was confined to twelve years, from his conversion in 246 to his martyrdom in 258. He was raised to the episcopate within three years of his conversion, and the whole of the remainder of his life was occupied with the immediate exigencies of fierce persecution from without, and acute controversy within his Church. There is a rather marked lack in St. Cyprian of acquaintance with the Christian theological writers who had preceded him, with the solitary exception of his fellow-African Tertullian. A man of Cyprian's acute intellect would deal most satisfactorily with those aspects of the Church's teaching that presented themselves clearly to him, but in view of his lack of real theological preparation, there was ever the danger that details of doctrine, quietly accepted in simple faith by the Church at large, but not much considered or discussed, might be misunderstood, or even overlooked, by him. This is, in fact, what happened.

St. Cyprian's great work in theology was concerned with the Unity of the individual local Church. With the greatest possible clearness he proved that in the one community there cannot be two hostile sects that each belong to the Catholic Church. As there is one Faith and one Church throughout the world, so there can only be one Church under the rule of one bishop in any single locality. The essential principle so clearly seen

and expounded by St. Cyprian has never been disputed by Catholics since, though some modifications in practice have proved necessary. St. Cyprian's work *De Unitate* finally demonstrated the authority of the Bishop over his flock. But what were the relations of the bishop towards his fellow-bishops? Who has authority over the bishop himself? How is the unity of the universal Church to be maintained? It was here that St. Cyprian failed to produce a fully satisfactory theory.

He had a perfectly clear grasp of the central truth, of the necessary and essential Unity of the Church. 'There is One God and One Christ, and One Church of His, and one people joined by the glue of concord into the firm unity of a body. That unity cannot be severed, nor can the one body be divided by a severance of its cohesion' (*De Unitate*, xxiii.). Here St. Cyprian speaks of the local Church. Here we have, firstly, stress laid on the human element in the Church. Any given individual or number of individuals can only form a part of the Church's unity if they by an act of their free will join themselves in unity and concord with their fellow-Christians. St. Cyprian always stresses this. The Church, by its fecundity and wide diffusion, is an external sign and witness of the countless acts of loving obedience and willing submission which its members necessarily elicit in thus taking Her yoke upon them. Adhesion to the Catholic Church is not a merely mechanical recitation of formulas or an uninterested acquiescence in governmental authority, as those outside sometimes ludicrously imagine. It is acceptable in the sight of Almighty God precisely because it is based upon a succession of free acts of the will, moving in correspondence with the supernatural gift of faith. This super-

natural oneness of faith and order is of the essence of the Church.

Secondly, and this is of importance also, 'that unity cannot be severed.' In other words, the Unity of the Church Herself does not depend on the fallible wills of individuals, though the union that those individuals have with Her does depend, under the action of grace, on their own free will. It would be ridiculous to claim that the individual Catholic cannot break away from the unity of the Church; and the greater part of the problems that St. Cyprian himself had to face were concerned with precisely this point, namely, with difficulties arising from heresy and apostasy. St. Cyprian teaches no necessary final perseverance on the part of those once admitted to the membership of the Church; they can withdraw their obedience and their faith, but by such withdrawal they do not injure the Unity of the Church Herself, they simply cut themselves off from that Unity.

Thirdly, some exterior test is required by which we may know who has communion with the (local) Catholic Church. Parochial quarrels are sinful, but they are not schisms. Not every breach of Christian charity implies, either in intention or fact, a breach in Catholic unity. It may happen among us, fortunately it usually does happen, that both parties in a controversy, both sides in a quarrel, are in full communion with the Church. When does a controversy become a schism? St. Cyprian was quite clear upon this point. The test of communion with the Catholic Church in each locality is submission to, and recognition by, the local Bishop. 'Does he think he is with Christ, who acts in opposition to Christ's bishops?' (*De Unit. xvii.*) 'The bishop is in

the Church, and the Church in the bishop. He who is not with the bishop is not in the Church' (Ep. 66.8). At Carthage it is St. Cyprian himself who decides whether such an one is to be severed from or received back into the communion of the Church. Even the indulgences granted by the martyrs to the lapsed are subject to his supervision and authority. The invisible and supernatural unity of the faithful expresses itself in submission to his authority as a successor of the Apostles of Christ.

So far we can follow the teaching of St. Cyprian wholeheartedly. He had the problem clearly before his eyes, and adequately expressed it in his writings. It was by no means a new problem even in his days, every bishop must have had to deal with the matter in some degree, and we find St. Ignatius insisting quite as emphatically on the position of the bishop as the centre of local unity.

But the question of the unity, not of the local church, but of the whole Church, was not one which at the beginning would much affect the individual bishop. There was not that amount of collective action by the whole episcopate that was to develop with the holding of the great Councils, and the central See of Rome could only at intervals and in exceptional cases make use of its authority; difficulties of communication were too great until Constantine put the resources of the imperial post at the disposal of the Church. In practice, therefore, each local bishop remained secure in the conviction of the Unity of the whole Church and in peaceable communion with his fellow-bishops, without much considering the exact implication of that Unity. The theoretical consideration of these matters had not

begun; St. Cyprian was breaking new ground. It is just in such circumstances that we expect to find the first theories defective.

His expressions with regard to the universal Church are much like those that he uses about the local Church. The latter is held together by the glue of concord on the part of the laity; the Universal Church also is 'not severed nor divided, but is connected on every side and conjoined by the glue of bishops adhering to each other' (Ep. 66.8). As the laity in their concord around the bishop constitute the church of each city, so the bishops themselves are united together to form the Universal Church. The unity of the episcopate is increased according to the peculiar legal conception that the episcopate is held by all its members *in solidum*, i.e., that every bishop possesses the same power as member of the episcopal college, without its being the peculiar property of any individual. St. Cyprian here was laudably desirous of excluding the idea of irresponsible autocracy on the part of the bishops, but has simplified the position too much.

In the first place, what are we to make of the case of heretical or schismatic bishops? As the layman may fail in his duty of union with his bishop, so the bishop may himself fall from the unity of the Church. This problem was complicated for St. Cyprian by his well-known mistake with regard to the validity of the sacraments of heretics. A bishop consecrated by heretics has neither episcopal character nor power according to St. Cyprian. A Catholic bishop lapsing into heresy loses, not only jurisdiction, but even sacramental powers. There are no bishops, for St. Cyprian, outside the Catholic Church. If we are dealing with a true

bishop, we know we are dealing with a Catholic; otherwise he would have ceased to be a bishop. In this way the episcopal college is freed from the possibility of error; the individual members of that college may fail, as in fact, bishops had lapsed into error even in the time of St. Cyprian, but in so doing they simply returned to the state of an unbaptized layman. This automatic purification of the episcopal College was for St. Cyprian sufficient to guarantee the purity of the Church. There was not, on this theory, any special need for further supervision on the part of the Pope. The Pope was the successor of St. Peter, the sacerdotal college was founded on St. Peter. St. Peter's See is the leading or original Church, from which sacerdotal unity arose (Ep. 59.14). It was unthinkable that the Church should be separated from the See that St. Peter founded. 'He who deserts the See of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded, is he sure that he is in the Church?' (There seems no good reason to reject this passage.) St. Cyprian was then well aware that in reality the Pope was not just like any other bishop. But his peculiar theory of the nature of the episcopate, while leaving the Pope as the centre of unity, did not make him the guardian of it. There was no need for him to watch over the episcopate as such. They could not help but be in communion with the Church; they were of necessity orthodox. Should any bishop appear in danger of faltering in the faith, his colleagues should admonish and encourage him in orthodoxy; should any unhappily have apostatized from his faith and from his office, these that remained true bishops, and therefore *ipso facto* orthodox, must sever themselves from his communion. St. Cyprian's ingenious theory blotted out the special

claims of the Bishop of Rome to intervene in such circumstances. There can scarcely be any appeal from one bishop to another on this theory—to reject the verdict of a bishop, *ex hypothesi* orthodox, is to discredit the infallibility of the Church herself. In addition, grave sin also for St. Cyprian invalidates a bishop. A real bishop *must* therefore have judged in accordance with orthodoxy and justice. How could there be an appeal?

The theory of St. Cyprian broke down during his own lifetime, and a good deal of the irritation that he displayed in his controversy with Pope St. Stephen was due to some consciousness of this. He had expressed to himself the nature of the Church's unity in an inadequate form; it appeared to him disastrous that the Pope refused to allow himself to be confined within that theory's limits. That the theory of St. Cyprian was inadequate could scarcely be disputed to-day. Some non-catholic scholars have commented with pleasure on his apparent diminution of the Papal authority, but they would not accept his theory of the Church. His theory was the very antithesis of the Anglican notion of the possibility of visible disunion within the visible Church. His mistake was in thinking that visible union was to be obtained so automatically that no guardian of that union was required. There was no need, in other words, in the universal Church, for a central arbiter who should occupy a position corresponding to some extent with that of the bishop in the local Church.

In the first place, St. Cyprian's theory suffers from all those defects that are inherent in any view that make the validity of sacraments depend on the faith and holiness of the minister. He recognizes that the laity

must watch lest they be contaminated by the sacraments of a sinful bishop, which become at once invalid. The whole feeling of the Church revolted from this intolerable burden thus placed on the people, who manifestly cannot judge the condition of their bishop's conscience as it is in the sight of God. Nor can the ordinary members of the flock decide at what point the opinions of an erratic bishop cross the limits of orthodoxy into heresy. The verdict of the Church was against St. Cyprian; the validity of sacraments does not depend on the worthiness of the minister. But this one difficulty is fatal to his whole theory; though the bishops ought to be held together by the 'glue of concord,' and though the defection of the few does not destroy the unity of the Church, yet the fact that even real bishops *can* apostatize, makes it necessary that there should be some means of deciding definitely when they have done so. The fact that even real bishops may err makes it necessary that there should be some means of appeal from what may be a gravely erroneous decision.

In addition, St. Cyprian's theory assumes that heretical bishops may immediately be known to be such, so that all the orthodox may at once abstain from communion with them. There was some excuse for this idea in his time, as most of the heresies up till then had been of an unsubtle nature and could have been recognized as such without any great theological acumen, though even so it must be noted that Monarchianism was the subject for long consideration at Rome before it was finally disposed of. But it was soon to become plain that the most dangerous heresies are those which maintain an appearance of Catholicism but misinterpret

the Church's faith. A view of this kind may spread far before its poisonous nature is perceived, and it can then only be excluded from the Church after long and bitter struggles. St. Cyprian provided no machinery whereby such an affair could be dealt with. The province could deal with individual recalcitrants, but he did not envisage the possibility of a whole province falling into error.

The weakness of this theory was to be felt in his own lifetime; and the well-known controversy between St. Cyprian and Pope St. Stephen was an admirable example. The Pope held, quite rightly, the view that the question of the validity of the sacraments of heretics belonged to the sphere of doctrine; an error in such a matter must be regarded as an error against the faith, though perhaps not at that time among the gravest errors. To St. Cyprian the affair seemed to be within the sphere of discipline; the Pope was requiring the Africans to give up an ancient custom which appeared to him to be founded on excellent grounds of reason. There was no method afforded in his theory whereby such a problem could be solved, of a controversy arising on a subject which one side regarded as the matter for heresy, and the other did not. St. Cyprian saw that the Pope's insistence on the Roman custom being followed was a blow to the theory that he had formed about the constitution of the Church, but was unable to make the necessary modifications in his view to meet the case. It must be remembered that the fuller Catholic view, though implicitly held, had never yet received exact theological statement.

There are three conceivable views that may be adopted concerning the theory of St. Cyprian. Firstly,

the view still occasionally suggested by non-Catholics, that St. Cyprian's doctrine was the original teaching of the Church, afterwards smothered by the aggressiveness of the Roman See. Secondly, we may regard St. Cyprian simply as a heretic in this point, deliberately unfaithful to the deposit of faith. Thirdly, we may consider St. Cyprian as essentially orthodox in doctrine, but misled through theorizing hastily on inadequate premisses. It is difficult to think that the first view can be seriously propounded by those who attach any importance to the historic teaching of the Christian Church, whatever view they take of the Church's constitution. St. Cyprian's view of the authority of the episcopate cannot be divorced from his theory that the validity of the sacraments depends on the worthiness of the minister. The bishops possess for him these quasi-Papal powers precisely because they are necessarily both orthodox and holy. If we have to reject, in accordance with the facts of history, the infallibility and impeccability of the episcopate, his theory collapses. Further, the theory of St. Cyprian is peculiar to him. The Donatists adopted and reduced it to an absurdity, but no Catholic thinker was tempted to adopt it. Even Firmilian of Cæsarea, though also much aggrieved by Pope St. Stephen, shows no signs of accepting the peculiar Cyprianic theory of the Church. Firmilian felt a grievance over what seemed to him to be an arbitrary and arrogant action on Stephen's part. It may be fairly deduced that Firmilian did not realize the important doctrinal principle at issue, and did not see that in any case the successor of St. Peter must have the power of deciding disciplinary matters; but even in his bad temper he nowhere commits himself to the

view that no supervision of bishops is required or permissible. If St. Cyprian's theory was in fact the true one, we should expect to find it later in the pages of St. Augustine, who, as a fellow-African, had an immense admiration for him, and had every opportunity of grasping his conceptions. But, in fact, the great Doctor and Saint apologizes for St. Cyprian's attitude, which was however atoned for, in his view, by his glorious death.

On the other hand St. Stephen himself was nothing if not definite in his statement of the papal prerogatives. We do not possess the actual rescript, but its tenor is amply manifested in the angry letters that it evoked from Cyprian and Firmilian. The Apostles, especially St. Peter and St. Paul, had forbidden the rebaptism of heretics. He himself held the succession from St. Peter, on whom the Church was founded, and in that capacity he gave orders that no change from the traditional custom was to be made. He threatened excommunication if his instructions were not carried out. In fact, in the plainest possible way, he showed that the Roman Church regarded itself as authorized to supervise the activities of Africa and Cappadocia. On St. Cyprian's theory there was no room for this display of vigour. On the contrary, it ought to have evoked the strongest protests from the other bishops. But no such protests were made, save by the unfortunates who were actually feeling the lash; East and West quietly inserted the name of the great Pope among the Saints, and obeyed the instructions that he had given. The abuse, like all disciplinary abuses, could not be eradicated in a moment; but the great Churches of Asia and Africa are soon found following the Roman practice, in spite

of the apostolic authority that had been claimed for their local usage.

We may then reasonably conclude that St. Cyprian's theory of the Church did not fully represent the belief of the Catholics of his day. Was he in wilful opposition to that teaching, in other words, a heretic? That he died in communion with the Roman Church is certain from his canonization. There was no motive why the Roman Church should have reckoned a heretic among the martyrs, no ground of expediency or political necessity why such an extraordinary concession should have been made, even if the canonization of saints were not, as in fact it is, under the infallible guidance of the Holy Ghost. Whether St. Cyprian was ever really out of communion with the Holy See must remain uncertain. We have hardly any information, except in the exaggerated and ill-tempered letter of Firmilian. Nor have we any positive information about St. Cyprian's relations with Stephen's successor, St. Xystus. But Xystus afterwards enjoyed the reputation among the Africans of a 'kindly and peace-loving bishop,' which suggests an amelioration of relationship, and the year after Cyprian's martyrdom we find Firmilian, whose attitude had been more blameworthy than Cyprian's, in full communion with Rome.

Moreover, Cyprian had shown that he recognized in fact, though not as yet in theory, that the Bishop of Rome possessed special claims to interfere in the affairs of other Churches. Marcianus of Arles had fallen into the Novatian heresy. According to Cyprian's scheme, the heretical bishop simply disappeared *ipso facto* from the hierarchy. But, in practice, someone has to deal with the matter, to declare to the whole Church that

Marcianus had apostatized, and to see that another bishop is appointed. To whom does Cyprian attribute this responsibility? To the Bishop of Rome. The Catholic instinct was there in Cyprian throughout, though the expression was hampered by the defective theory in which that instinct was expressed.

Whatever then was the doctrine of the early Fathers about the constitution of the Church, it was not St. Cyprian's theory: that we must consider an eccentricity pardonable under the circumstances. Still less can we imagine the wild speculations of some Gnostic sects upon the nature of the Church to represent the true deposit of Faith. Not in their most extravagant mood have later writers suggested this. But apart from Gnostic dreams and St. Cyprian's theorizings, no theory on the nature of the Universal Church presents itself in the Ante-Nicene age, except that clearly held by St. Stephen, acted upon by St. Victor, and at least hinted at in St. Ignatius and St. Irenæus, that the Church, necessarily and visibly one, finds both the centre and the guardian of the unity in the successor of St. Peter at Rome.

V.

DEVELOPMENTS UNDER ST. LEO I AND ST. GREGORY I.

BY THE REV. J. H. BYRNE, M.A.

IF Mr. Chesterton were writing this paper he would probably begin by saying that the remarkable thing about the developments under Leo and Gregory is that there weren't any. And that is practically the substance of my paper. In the word 'development' as applied to the Church there is so often an implication of change, change of character. Of developments in that sense there were none. In all that really matters the Church of Leo and Gregory is amazingly like the Church we know to-day. Growth undoubtedly there was, as there must be in any living organism—as there is to-day. In her adaptation to the circumstances of time and place the Church showed then that more than human capacity which she has ever shown, which she still shows. It was the setting, the circumstances in which she had to work, that changed, not the Church. And what makes it worth while to allot a special paper to this period is that the change of setting was so dramatic. Never before or since has Europe passed through more chaotic a time. It was the beginning of the Dark Ages, when art and literature suffered an eclipse, and the culture, the amenities, the achievements of what was probably the most stable and successful system of political and civic life ever known, were to a considerable extent destroyed. St. Leo's life was contemporary with the beginning of

this upheaval. St. Gregory came when the forces of disruption were almost spent and a new world was taking shape. Throughout the chaos the Church was the one institution that survived, bridging the gap between classical and medieval times. Such continuity of civilized tradition as there was depended on the Catholic bishops, priests, and faithful—on the Church. Circumstances forbade anything like vigorous centralized or co-ordinated action. Yet, as in every other period, the centre of interest, as of unity, was the See of Rome.

(1) *St. Leo*

St. Leo was born towards the end of the century, at the beginning of which had occurred the last and most violent of the persecutions. The official toleration (for it was little more) of the Christian religion under Constantine was coincident with the outbreak of those suicidal theological disputes on the divinity of Christ that were far more dangerous (humanly speaking) to the existence of the Church than any external violence. Not even these, however, could check the progress of the Christian religion in all the provinces of the Empire and in all ranks of Roman society. When the heroic championship by Athanasius and the great doctors, Eastern and Western, of the faith of Nicæa had been crowned by decisive victory at the 2nd General Council, paganism, so long the tyrannical oppressor, then the rival of Christianity, was dethroned, and the Creed as framed at the 1st and completed at the 2nd Council was declared the religion of the State. But paganism, though dethroned, was not dead. During Leo's childhood there was a serious attempt to re-establish the old religion at Rome. The City Prefect, seizing power,

carried out a three months' purification of the city, sprinkling the walls and buildings with lustral water, conducting ancient rites, some of them glaringly immoral, and causing important defections among the Christians. It required a civil war to restore order. Again, Leo as a boy might have seen the last gladiatorial show at Rome (that horrible amusement of the pagans) given in honour of a victory over the Goths who had crossed the north-east frontier of Italy. As youth and man Leo must have been aware of the lingering affection the old religion still commanded. Even as Pope he had frequently to reproach his people for the superstitious pagan practices to which they obstinately clung. Everyone in Rome knew that it was Leo's own bravery and personal appeal that mitigated the horrors of the ten days' pillage of the city under Genseric the Vandal king, yet in a sermon after the event he was compelled to point out that it was not the stars, but the Saints that had saved Rome. In another sermon he declares that he has seen his own people come to the altar steps, turn towards the sun, and bow in honour of the resplendent orb like any pagan. In yet another he is at pains to banish the idea that the feast of Our Lord's birth (25th December), is really in honour of the new unconquered sun (*Sol invictus*). Paganism was far from dead in Leo's time. Considerable remnants were to be found even in Gregory's day.

It is commonly asserted that Christianity was one of the elements that broke up the Roman Empire, that it was a solvent of the Roman system. We readily admit that it was in conflict with the spirit of the age as expressed in the fashionable philosophies and loose system of morality. Nevertheless the Christian Church

had built itself into the Roman structure and utilized the machinery of Roman life. The division into parishes, dioceses and provinces followed the political divisions. Never a State religion in the ordinary sense of the word, it yet did depend and thrive on the *pax Romana*. Throughout its far-flung Empire the religion that now was Rome's must have been known and honoured. What nation, Leo asks, can be ignorant of what Rome had learnt? Rome's wide Empire, he says, is a providential means of spreading the Christian faith. But the *pax Christiana* is wider than Rome's dominion. The city itself had indeed fallen to second rank, and New Rome (Constantinople) had usurped its place. But, as Leo says, Rome remains the true head of the world, because within its precincts lie the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul, and therein resides St. Peter's successor. Yet the political change had its significance. It was not merely that a more suitable administrative centre had been sought. It was the beginning of the break-up. Twice in the first half of the fifth century, Sacred Rome was pillaged by barbarians. The five groups of Western provinces were the scene of continuous frontier disturbances with which the central government was quite unable to cope. The policy of granting lands to large numbers of barbarians and treating them as immigrants rather than invaders had had a certain success in stiffening the army and bringing new blood into the rural areas of the Roman provinces; but it was a policy of despair, and in the end only hastened the collapse of the whole system. Yet so smooth-running was the machinery of municipal and provincial government that the contemporaries of St. Leo, St. Leo himself, were unaware of what was actually

taking place. After Alaric's pillage of Rome in 410 and Genseric's in 455, the palaces, gardens, and pleasure-loving people of Rome resumed their care-free life, and externally there was little change. St. Leo had to reproach the people for the ease with which they forgot recent disasters, and thronged the places of amusements when they should be in the churches thanking God. Yet he himself, proud of the unbroken chain of Christian Churches from Spain to the Caucasus, of the thousands of catechumens of every race within the Empire preparing to be admitted to Baptism on Easter Day, failed to read the signs of the times, and could never envisage a world in which Rome's power could be ended. Yet that was precisely the position in Gregory's day. It was the impotence of the central government, or rather the absence of any effective government, that compelled Gregory to assume that political position as Bishop of Rome, that was fraught with such consequences for the future. St. Leo is the last and the greatest Pope of the old *régime*, St. Gregory is the first (shall we also say the greatest?) Pope of the new.

St. Leo was an experienced administrator and diplomat when he was recalled from a delicate mission in Gaul to undertake the rule of the Church. It is not reading history backwards to describe the work of the Bishop of Rome at this date as the rule of the Church. It is true that not one of the Popes, except perhaps Leo, could compare with the great Fathers in intellectual and literary gifts, in learning and personal prestige. Yet East and West, it was to the Popes that the Church looked for finality and security. Leo then entered on his task, as other Popes had done, with the consciousness that the Universal Church (a favourite expression of his)

was now his personal charge. In one of his earliest sermons he declares that while all the bishops of the universal Church are equal through the anointing of the Holy Spirit, Peter has not abandoned the government of the Church that was entrusted to him, but still lives on in his See, and that in honouring Leo the Church honours the Apostle, whose dignity is not impaired even in an unworthy successor. St. Leo is the first pope whose letters and writings are preserved with anything like completeness, and this has undoubtedly contributed to the impression that he was the founder of a system. But that system is abundantly witnessed to by the collections, incomplete as they are, of earlier papal acts. There is certainly nothing tentative about SS. Damasus, Siricius, Innocent, Celestine. Seventy years before Leo, an ambitious pagan said with a smile to Pope Damasus, 'I would become a Christian if they would elect me Bishop of Rome.' Far from being the innovator he is sometimes said to be, Leo was only maintaining an established and accepted procedure. The Church was to him what Augustine, the Cyrils, Chrysostom had described. He accepted the position without philosophic enquiry. But he used (should we say developed?) it with perfect consistency and supreme tact. For a man who is credited with so unswerving a purpose in enforcing the primatial rights of his See, Leo is remarkably forbearing. Most of his interventions were on behalf of men harshly treated by ecclesiastical or lay superiors. He could be stern, but it was always to men who had shown undue sternness themselves. To take the most conspicuous instance. St. Hilary, Bishop of Arles, had acted *ultra vires* in appointing outside his own province a successor to a sick bishop. On this being reported to

Rome, Leo reprimands Hilary for violating the established *régime* and forbids him to interfere in other bishops' dioceses or hold synods other than provincial. This ruling was confirmed by a remarkable edict issued in the name of the Emperor, which somewhat apologetically in its preamble states that the sentence of the Bishop of Rome needs no imperial sanction. It then goes on to forbid any innovations by bishops except with the consent of the Pope, and states that the faith and law of all must be what the Apostolic See prescribes, and that local governors must, under penalty of heavy fine, see to it that bishops cited to Rome should appear. The young Emperor Valentinian III may have been a weak sovereign; but to say that Leo engineered this remarkable intervention by the State, and that his position and claims are founded on it, is to ignore not only the whole history of the relations of the Apostolic See to the Church universal, but the numerous utterances of the government itself throughout the last hundred years. At most, this decree recognizes an established order in the Catholic hierarchy. It had little perceptible effect on the relations of bishops to Rome. There are no cases that I have discovered where the penal side was enforced. As Duchesne says: 'If Leo's position depended on the Emperor's patronage, it would not have survived more than thirty years.' Leo here insisted on maintaining the traditional independence of provinces one of another, with recourse to Rome in greater cases. This was substantially the position for 300 years before Leo. It was made an international law in the Code of Justinian. It is substantially the position now.

Such was the system of Church government carried

on, but not invented, by Leo. It had obligations on both sides which Leo was scrupulous in honouring. He would take appeals that came in the proper course. But he would never interfere in dioceses or provinces except when due formalities were observed. Thus when an African bishop, who had been excommunicated by some of his colleagues, appealed to Rome, Leo sent the case back to be dealt with by the proper authority, the provincial court. And this, though Africa at the moment was disorganized by the change of government from Roman to Vandal, and the old Council of Bishops, so famous from Cyprian's time, had lapsed. In Spain too he was invited to act by direct authority, but preferred to leave the settlement of individual cases to the provinces, contenting himself with drawing up a list of articles to be circulated as a test of orthodoxy. The only instance in the West where Leo altered the traditional order was in Illyricum, which politically was divided between East and West. In this special case he appointed a vicar or legate who was to hear disputes between metropolitans, and then if necessary refer to Rome. Incidentally we may remark that some of the sternest words Leo ever wrote were to this legate, for his severity and unnecessary interference in matters pertaining to the local ordinary.

So far I have referred only to the Western Empire. What are we to say of the East, where, in addition to the universal division into dioceses and provinces, there was the further higher dignity of the patriarchs? In Leo's time there were only two patriarchs, those of Alexandria and Antioch. Now, 125 years before Leo, the Sixth Canon of Nicæa, which is the first official statement on the special prerogatives of the patriarchs,

prescribed that the Bishops of Alexandria and Antioch should enjoy the same rights over their dependencies as Rome in the West. This obviously cannot mean that the Church was divided into three, as the Empire into two. All it does is to recognize that the specially close relation Rome bears to the Churches in the West is paralleled by these two great Apostolic Sees for their own districts in the East, that, in addition to and above the metropolitans were the patriarchs. There was nothing then about Jerusalem or Constantinople. The latter appeared for the first time at the General Council of 381, which wound up the Arian heresy. A canon was then passed (and it was an innovation), making Constantinople the second See after Rome, and premier See of the East. This was resisted by the Pope at the time. When it was re-enacted in Leo's time at the great Council of Chalcedon, though now the zone of jurisdiction was defined, Leo read it not as a challenge to Rome's primacy, for the Council had acclaimed his lucid statement of Catholic doctrine and used expressions of deference and loyalty that were never surpassed by any Church in the West, but as an infringement of customary law, due to the ambition of the bishop. In face of all kinds of pressure, even from his own confidential adviser on the spot, to allow the innovation, Leo remained firm, and in the end extracted a reluctant repudiation from both Emperor and Bishop. Writing to the Empress on the subject, Leo says: 'The vote of the bishops (of 381) which conflicts with Nîcæa we annul, and by the authority of Blessed Peter declare absolutely void.' Leo's action has been variously criticized. But it does show him as the staunch upholder of tradition. Constantinople *was*, as a matter of fact, now the most

important See after Rome; and though the offending canon was dropped, yet in practice it continued to hold, and was made a law of the Empire later by Justinian. Leo in this affair may be described as resisting development. Curiously enough, Alexandria, for whose honour Leo stood so firmly, was at this moment ruled by a violent partisan of the monophysites, who had carried his antagonism so far as to excommunicate Leo—a feverish and futile gesture that enraged the Eastern bishops far more than it disturbed Leo.

As regards the East, then, Leo acts in the most authoritative way, refusing to accept a canon passed at an ecumenical council, and insisting on Eastern bishops, patriarchs included, submitting a signed formula of faith before their election could be recognized as valid. An Emperor who patronized the monophysite heresy might try to act as though Leo was only patriarch of the West, but when Leo stigmatized the Emperor's packed assembly that purported to be a general council as a 'robber-council' (the name by which it is subsequently known in history), the council received the universal disapprobation it deserved. Leo *was* patriarch of the West, as he was bishop of Rome and metropolitan of central and south Italy; but he was also head of the whole Church.

I have judged it necessary to make only the briefest reference to Chalcedon. For Leo's famous statement of Catholic doctrine which the 'robber-council' was afraid to hear read, and which the greatest assembly of the early Church, the 600 Bishops at Chalcedon, accepted with acclamation, was only a very brilliant summary of the belief of the Universal Church as he had learnt it; it added nothing to the theology of the Incarnation

or the hypostatic union. I have likewise omitted reference to Leo's strong views on heretics, and the obligation of the State if called on by the Church to repress them, for they were the same as St. Augustine's, and also (it is interesting to note) identical with those that later on set the Inquisition in motion; nor of his very definite statements on clerical celibacy, for these were also a statement of actual facts. I could have said something about his handling of cases of conscience, and its place in early moral theology, but this can hardly be called a development. In fact, if I were to go through the list of things that were not developments, I should cover the whole life of the Church, doctrinal, disciplinary and devotional. One thing he said which was novel, and which might have (but obviously did not) lead to developments—that religious women should not be allowed to take final vows till the age of sixty.

To sum up St. Leo: the unity and universality of the Church, both in doctrine and discipline, stand out as luminous facts; the government of the Church proceeded along the lines already marked out, being administered with conspicuous ability and success by a great and wise ruler; the Western Empire was tottering, though few seemed to realize or admit it, Leo perhaps least of all. Leo did nothing, said nothing that had not been done and said many times before; but enjoying a reign considerably longer than the average, with a moral character and personality that would have stamped him as great in any country or epoch, set against a background that to us, though not to him or his contemporaries, has a romantic charm, he stands out as a great Roman, the last and greatest of the early Popes.

(2) *St. Gregory*

Passing over 130 years we come to St. Gregory, and find a very different world, but the same unchanging Church. You would have to go back a thousand years to pre-Roman Europe to find a parallel to the state of affairs when Gregory came to the throne. There was no Roman Emperor, and only a shadow of the Roman Empire in the West. Gaul, Spain, Africa were independent of one another and of the centre. Italy itself was divided between Romans and Lombards, a race probably unheard of in Leo's time. The *pax Romana*, that St. Leo had regarded as so providential and immutable, was only a memory. Yet the *pax Christiana* was firmer and more widespread than ever before. For the new races were Christian. True, the majority of them were tainted with Arianism, but this was by accident, not by conviction. The history of this phase of Arianism is a much simpler and less anxious one than that of Arianism proper. The Franks, who were already emerging as a nation, the first of the new nations, had been Christian for 100 years, and had no trace of heresy. Under the guidance of Catholic bishops, men of Gallo-Roman stock with a long family tradition of social dignity and administrative experience, the Franks were to prove themselves the political mainstay of the Catholic Church in the West. As I said earlier, Gregory's reign found the disruptive forces almost spent, and the new peoples becoming stabilized, moulded and influenced by the traditions of civic government that no invasion however devastating could obliterate. Even the Lombards had begun to build. It was the *pax Christiana* that assured this result.

And no one contributed more to it than Gregory. Was it a development?

Now Gregory was as convinced and loyal a Roman as Leo, and his laments on the atrocities of the unspeakable Lombards are well-known. Yet he faced, as Leo was never called on to do, a situation that galled his Roman patriotism, a divided Italy, a threatened Rome. And the position in which he found himself forced him to a line of action that Leo could never have foreseen. Even at a first glance there is a striking difference between Leo and Gregory as public men. In the city of Rome, and indeed in Italian politics generally, Gregory appears not only as a Bishop but also as an important statesman. On his recommendation civil and diplomatic posts are filled; and when a nominee of his was charged with falsification of accounts, the case was referred to Gregory for comment, and elicited a famous reply on how to treat defaulting Roman citizens. On his own initiative he intervened on behalf of the hard-pressed inhabitants of Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily, and pointed out to the government that revenue is not the real interest of the State when its collection drives men to sell their children into slavery. He was the unofficial court of appeal to all who were faced with the rigours of the law, from town councils to the union of soap-boilers. How much this was due to the personal prestige of the man, and how much to his position as Bishop of Rome and head of the Church, it is difficult to say. But it is certain that Gregory, reluctantly enough, did undertake duties that had been left by his predecessors to the State. When it was a question of defending the city against Lombard raids and there was none to undertake it, Gregory organized a defence

force and paid the troops, and more than once concluded a truce with the raiders. The resentment of the imperial governor at Ravenna, who withdrew the garrison, only drove Gregory further on the road he had been forced to take. We may speculate as we will on the consequences of a policy of *laissez-faire* on Gregory's part, of allowing Rome to be absorbed by the Lombards. Again and again he had himself laid down the rule that bishops should not meddle in State affairs, save only to prevent a flagrant wrong. But he took the view that the capture of Rome by the Lombards would be a public wrong, and like many another bishop up and down Christendom, like a famous cardinal and bishop in the late war, he, unhesitatingly, once the crisis came, exerted himself to save his city from catastrophe. His famous 'Fool' letter to the Emperor at Constantinople is a mordant condemnation of headquarter stupidity. No one has ever blamed Gregory for the policy he was practically forced to adopt. Gibbon, no friend to the Church, calls him the father of his country. Yet that policy is unquestionably the origin of the temporal power of the Popes. None of his successors could recede from the position which public opinion and the ungrudging consent of his fellow-citizens invited him to accept.

But, after all, this was only a local affair—if anything connected with Rome can ever be merely local. Generally, his attitude was that of his predecessors. There are matters that belong to the State, and others that belong to the Church. These must be kept separate and independent. But the Church could call on the State to enforce discipline in the interests of the Church against schismatics, heretics or recalcitrant members. The converse proposition that fair play seems to demand,

that the State could call on the Church, obviously could not arise, because from its very nature the Church is the guardian of morality, and morality is the only matter on which such a call could be made. Gregory did not work out a theory on the relations of Church and State, but his mind and language were clear enough; and when later the idea of the Holy Roman Empire was mooted, Gregory's letters and writings provided useful and satisfactory expressions on which a theory could be formulated. Always the supreme preoccupation of the Popes of the Church is the *pax Christiana* in Leo's words; as Gregory called it, the *pax fidei*.

It is not necessary to enter into Gregory's relations with the different parts of Christendom. They were constant, and, with inevitable exceptions, cordial. He sent the pallium to his friend, St. Leander, and Spain began its career as a Catholic country. In order to keep in touch with developments in Gaul, Gregory revived the metropolitical dignity of the See of Arles, to which also he sent the pallium. But it must be admitted that the unsettled state of Gaul made regular communication difficult. The greatest contemporary French Bishop, St. Gregory of Tours, corresponded with Gregory, but the two never met. With Africa, Alexandria, and Antioch, he was on the friendliest terms—the patriarch of Antioch supplying his deficiencies in Church history. To the satisfaction of all concerned he intervened in Palestine and Armenia. Gregory's letters are a splendid testimony to the unity and universality of the Church, and to the bond of fraternal charity, as well as of doctrine and jurisdiction, that held it together with Gregory, the father of all. Even in the difference he had with John the Faster, patriarch of

Constantinople, whose arrogance in using the title 'universal bishop' he, following his predecessor, felt bound to resist, he maintained his accustomed tact, although on occasion he could make a shrewd thrust, as when he asked, 'Is this the result of all your fasting?' It is rather paradoxical that Gregory, who had just heard an appeal by two Eastern priests and quashed the sentences passed against them at Constantinople, the Patriarch sending counsel to Rome to represent him—that with such a compelling evidence of the primacy he should have been agitated by a trivial matter like a high-sounding title. But he saw in it, as did Leo in similar circumstances, a possible danger in the violation of established custom, and did not hesitate here to put his avowed principles into action, to call on the secular power to restrain the Patriarch.

It may seem odd to pass over, with only the briefest notice, Gregory's magnificent achievements in the missionary field. Of these, the sending of St. Augustine to England was, of course, the most prolific in results, the converted Anglo-Saxons showing such zeal a few generations later in evangelizing their kinsmen on the Continent. Ireland was outside the Roman view in Leo's time. But Gregory corresponded many times with the great St. Columban, who was in full career during Gregory's pontificate, and who turned so enthusiastically to Rome for help and enlightenment. His praise of Gregory's writings is full of true Celtic exuberance. But Gregory, in the matter of missionary work, could take the rough with the smooth, as he had on a memorable occasion to advise St. Augustine to do. When the metropolitan of Armenia reported his failure to bring off the conversion of a Persian king, Gregory

consoled him with the naive remark, 'The Ethiopian comes out of the bath as black as when he went in, but the bath-man gets his reward.' But to say that Gregory was a great missionary Pope, who laid down the lines that were in fact followed right through the Middle Ages, is not to say that there was a development. After all, in that matter the Church of Gregory's day was behind the Church of the first century.

We may sum up the Church under Gregory in a single sentence. It is the same as under Leo, with the Roman primacy more obvious, with a very different set of political problems to face, but with its course set clear for the troubled centuries of the early Middle Ages.

(3) *Between Leo and Gregory*

And now a very few words about the century and a quarter that elapsed between the two. Within a few years of Leo's death Gothic kings had taken the place of Roman Emperors. Politically East and West were separated, their only link now being the Catholic Church. The Bishop of Rome became more markedly the ruler of the Universal Church as Italy degenerated into a small kingdom. Pope Gelasius, the second Pope after Leo, formulated the claims of the Roman See so clearly that the Vatican Council incorporated many of his expressions in its constitution, while his statement of the relations between the two powers, civil and ecclesiastical, is hardly surpassed by Hildebrand and Boniface VIII. Nevertheless, the story of the Church contains the old familiar elements; Schism in the East, lay interference with papal elections in the West, splendours and shadows, persecution and peace

according to the whim of those in power—the Catholic Church marching steadily on through it all.

Then came Justinian and a brief revival of the *pax Romana*, with its immeasurably important legacy to Europe, the codification of Roman Law. But in ecclesiastical affairs Justinian was a palpable failure. He set the fashion, followed by less able successors, of exercising direct control over the Church of Constantinople, and became Cæsar-Pope. But he failed miserably to extend his control to the West. The affair of Pope Vigilius reflects no credit on any of the principal actors. The controversy which caused his aberrations was barren of any useful results, except to show that a Council, however highly patronised, is of no validity if the Pope refuses to endorse it; it was a bitter dispute about what three writers said or meant a century before, and what others had said or meant about them. The net result was to injure the prestige of the Papacy, and lose to Roman obedience important provinces in Africa and North-East Italy. Hardly a development.

No sooner had Justinian's generals subdued the Goths in Italy, and depopulated large territories in doing so, than another invasion of barbarians occurred, that of the Lombards, the last and most savage of them all. Italy was soon partitioned into areas owing different allegiance. And this was the state of affairs that Gregory encountered when he was elected to be the successor of St. Peter.

The Church met the changing situation with her historic fortitude. Martyrs and confessors, bishops and priests remained at their posts and handed on the Faith. Perhaps the inexhaustible fecundity of the Catholic Church was never better proved than during this dark

period, which saw the formation of large communities of monks, above all, monks of St. Benedict. Within half a century of St. Benedict's death (543), his rule had trained some of the greatest of these heroic confessors, and it had given St. Gregory to the Church.

It was fortunate (providential, we should say), that at the close of the Roman epoch and the beginning of the medieval, the Church should have had two such men, and such saints, as Leo and Gregory to rule it. They are primarily churchmen; but from whatever angle the history of Europe or of mankind be written, they must find in it (as they certainly will adorn), a conspicuous place.

(On the subject of this paper it may suffice to mention two important studies: Mgr. Batiffol's article *S. Léon* in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, and *Gregory the Great, his place in history and thought*, by F. Homes Dudden, B.D., 2 vols, Longmans, 1905.)

VI.

THE NOTES OF THE CHURCH.

BY THE REV. BERNARD GRIMLEY, D.D., Ph.D.

PART I: UNITY AND CATHOLICITY

(I) *Introductory*

IT is hard to write of the Notes of the Church and avoid controversy with those outside the Catholic fold. But it should be noted from the outset that the Notes themselves are not controversial in their origin. They are not the invention of some controversy-obsessed Reformation theologian for the confusion of Protestants. We shall see, as we progress, that the four traditional Catholic notes are all, in substance, to be found in the writings of sub-apostolic times, whilst the Nicene Creed, which many non-Catholics recite with us in identical words, if with a different meaning, expresses a belief in 'one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church.' Our aim is to show that the quality implied in each of those four adjectives is an essential constituent of the Church *as founded by Our Lord*. Had He so wished, Christ might have founded another kind of Church, which might not have verified at least one of these notes, namely, Catholicity, whereas, in point of fact, Christ did so found it that His Church can rather cease to be than be any other than the Church of the four notes or marks. Every organization must bear some mark of its origin. It has a character of its own. So the Church of Christ has many marks of her divine origin, but not all of them

are notes. For by a note we mean something which indicates and notifies. Let us suppose a man to be aware of the fact that Christ founded a Church as a visible and perpetual religious society, necessary to salvation. He sees many different organizations claiming to be that Church. How is he to tell whether or not all the claimants be possibly right; or if some at any rate be false, how is he to tell the true one? Considering that Christ has made the Church necessary to salvation, He must have left some fairly obvious sign by which an enquirer could solve these difficulties. There will surely be some quality or qualities in the true Church which are not possessed by other claimants, qualities visible from without, and easily recognizable, to guide his mind. It would be of little use to such an enquirer to be told of the joy and peace of mind with which the followers of the various sects and factions are blessed within the Church, or of the love which reigns within the various communities. He is so far an outsider and so demands external signs. Since the legitimacy of the title, 'true Church of Christ,' is in question, it follows that the signs must be more easily seen and known than is the legitimate holder of the title. We can define what we are looking for by saying that a note is an easily observable property or quality which distinguishes the true Church of Christ from all false claimants.

There must be nothing abstruse or remote about these notes or birthmarks. Granted good will and freedom from prejudice, they should be obvious to the ordinary man. It is presumed that they are qualities inseparably belonging to the Church, but we do not assert that one or other quality may not be partially present in several

of the sects. Being inseparable qualities, it is legitimate to argue that where one of them is absent, there legitimate claims to the title of the true Church cannot be made. It may be said that if our idea of the notes be the correct one, then their cogency should be so great that no one would remain long outside the true Church, in violation of all experience to the contrary. But it is to be noted that many are in complete ignorance of the nature of the notes themselves. They are like travellers ignorant of what signposts are, who lose themselves on their journey. The fault is in the travellers' ignorance, and not in the signposts themselves. In the same way many are unaware what signs to look for in their quest for the true Church, and consequently do not find the Church; but that does not argue to any deficiency in the notes themselves. It must be remembered that we are discussing notes or marks, and not signs in the strict sense of the word. If we were speaking of signs which tell a negative infidel or unbeliever that the Church is the handiwork of God, then it would be better to discuss the staying power of the Catholic Church and her age-long existence in spite of bitter and continued persecutions, her power for good in a world inclined to evil; in fact, to evolve the moral argument which we use to show that the Catholic Church is the foundation of One who rightly claimed Godhead. But that is not our concern at this stage. *We* are dealing with a different problem. We are trying to find for men bewildered by the confusion of rival claimants to the title the way of distinguishing the true from the false.

I have said that many are in complete ignorance of the nature of the notes themselves. There is more than that. There is teaching on this question opposed to

the teaching of the Catholic Church. Other notes than the ones she proposes are put forward as the marks of the true Church. We are all familiar with the teaching of the Thirty-nine Articles on this question. The true Church is that in which the pure Word of God is preached and the Sacraments are rightly administered. It is verbally the same teaching as is embodied in the various Protestant Confessions of Augsburg, Geneva, Frankfurt, as well as in the French, Swiss, Bohemian and Hungarian Protestant Confessions. It will be as well, therefore, to say a few words about the validity of the test they propose, or rather have proposed in the past, before we discuss our own teaching.

We must admit that the teaching of the right faith and the correct administration of the Sacraments are essential requisites for the true church, but we cannot admit that they constitute the marks of the true Church. To say so is to beg the whole question. The Church is the repository of the doctrines, not the doctrines of the Church. The right doctrine will be taught by the right teachers; but a man cannot say *a priori* who are the right teachers. God, of course, sees clearly where the true faith is taught, and where the Sacraments are rightly administered, because He sees the very essences of things; but, unless we are prepared to admit that it is possible for a man to know before he has found the Christian Church all there is to be known about the Christian Faith—in which case there would be no need of a Church at all—we must say that it is impossible for him to test the legitimacy of a Church by the correctness of its teaching and administration of the Sacraments. The only way the old Protestants could avoid a logical blunder in proposing such things as the marks of the

true Church was by proclaiming the Bible to be a self-sufficient rule of faith. Then a man could learn the true Faith first and find the Church afterwards; but without some such hypothesis to work from, the whole procedure is extremely illogical. I will not enter further into this old theory, because it is now supplanted by another equally illogical.

Protestants to-day appeal to the fruits of the Holy Spirit, which they say somehow result from the ministrations of the various sects, as a proof of their legitimacy. Anglicans have used the argument as a proof of the validity of their orders against the Catholic Church, only to find the same argument used against the Lambeth Appeal by Nonconformists as a proof of the validity of Nonconformist orders. 'If the Holy Ghost gives graces through our ministrations,' they ask, 'can you deny us a part in the body Catholic?' The test at first sight seems an objective one, but upon examination it will be seen to be a subjective one. The only objective fact in the case is the reception of graces by people who use various forms of Protestant ministries, and no Catholic is concerned to dispute that fact, but only its supposed implications. The conclusion drawn from the fact by Protestants is that they are, therefore, part of the true Church. This conclusion would be perfectly valid if God could confer graces only through the ministrations of men, that is, through the Sacraments. But, though the Sacraments are the normal channels of grace for believers, the Catholic Church has never taught that God is tied to them. He can, and does, confer grace immediately on those who serve Him, and can do it concurrently with the reception of invalid Sacraments, though not through them, as Newman

explained long ago. Moreover, the story of the reception of Cornelius into the Church, as told in the Acts of the Apostles, sufficiently illustrates the fact that great graces are given to people who are not members of any Church, *i.e.*, negative infidels, who yet serve God faithfully according to their lights. There are many such men to-day who live on the natural, as opposed to the supernatural, level. They feel the need of no Church, yet are unconsciously affected in their lives by a lingering Christian tradition which they respect. Such of them as are in good faith no doubt also receive graces from God. Are our Protestant friends prepared to admit to them the use of the same argument against joining any Church at all? If not, on what grounds do they refuse it to them? The legitimacy of a Church and the validity of its orders must stand on objective tests and proofs. If these are available, it is legitimate to argue that grace is conferred through the ministrations of that Church, because such is the divine plan. But the mere reception of grace is no proof of the validity of the Sacraments through which it is supposed to have been conferred, since it may have no causal connection with them. Wherefore we say that the attribution of grace to the Sacraments upon which this argument is based is gratuitous and subjective. It should be rather attributed to the goodness of God, who loves those who love Him, and who will lead every really faithful and earnest soul by gradual steps out of the darkness into the full light of the true Church. It may not be out of place to call attention to a danger which underlies this argument, the danger of mistaking feeling and emotion for grace and virtue.

Grace is not a sensible thing, but it is a spiritual

quality and habit, which may or may not produce emotions of various kinds. Yet emotion is often popularly mistaken for grace, and one can easily imagine an appeal to mere emotion and sentiment being urged as a proof of the legitimacy of Spiritism, Christian Science, or any of the modern crazes, on the ground that such fine and noble emotions must come from God. Once admit the validity of the argument we have been discussing and the door is open to every extravagance, and the only test of religious truth would then be best summed up in the words of the song: 'A little of what you fancy does you good.'

As the time at my disposal is short in relation to the ground to be covered, I must omit a discussion of what the separated Oriental Churches teach about the marks of the Church, and content myself with saying that until the eighteenth century they taught the same four marks as the Catholic Church, but after that time their teaching is affected by Protestant thought. In modern times Macarius Bulgakov (d. 1882) has rejected the four traditional notes, on the ground that the meaning of them is not sufficiently determined in the symbol, and has taught that the true Church is that which really preserves without any change the infallible teaching of the ancient Church, and faithfully adheres to it in every part. More recently the Eastern Church has become infected with Liberalism, Pan-Slavism, Tolstoism and Modernism, and great stress has been laid upon a spirit of charity as the distinguishing mark of the true Church, presumably because charity will cover a multitude of sins. In addition to what we have said about the old Protestant theory, which holds true of much modern Oriental teaching, it should be pointed out that the

immobility upon which Macarius and others after him have insisted upon so much, is an impossibility to a living Church, which must have a fresh statement of doctrine in face of new heresies, and is not true even of the Orthodox Church for which it is claimed. For it has admitted many changes of government and of teaching in the course of its history. To speak only of the changes in dogma, towards the end of the nineteenth century the Immaculate Conception, Transubstantiation through the words of consecration alone, the inspiration of the Deutero-canonical books were rejected, though they had been held in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, whilst the liceity of the *Filioque* was allowed, though previously condemned as heresy.

Now let us turn to the four external and sensible marks which both reason and revelation urge as the recognizable birthmarks of the true Church. I say that they are sensible marks, but I do not mean that they must necessarily fall directly and immediately under the senses, but that the mind can gather their existence from facts which do fall under the senses, and all of them are more evident than the legitimacy which they establish. Let us begin with unity, as in many ways the most important. We shall follow with Catholicity, just as naturally as one travels from the centre of a circle to traverse its circumference. It is not repugnant to a circle to have a centre, its very nature demands it. So it is not repugnant to a community of believers to have a central authority and yet be world-wide in scope. In fact its preservation for any length of time demands it. But, just as a circle cannot have two centres, so there cannot be two supreme authorities in a Church. So let us consider that unity,

reaching to universality, which is the Catholic Church in two of her notes. We shall establish first of all that, whichever be the Church of Christ, it must be one and world-wide, and then we shall make our application of that fact to the Catholic Church.

(2) *Unity*

The Church of God is a perfect society in itself. What is essential to the unity of any human society is therefore essential to the Church. Now, any human society retains its unity so long as its members are at one in mind and will. Unity of mind about the purpose for which they have formed the society, and about the means to be adopted for the attainment of that purpose or end, and union of wills by which their actions are co-ordinated in the use of means to an agreed end, these are the things upon which the unity of any society of men depends. Controversy, either about the purpose for which the society exists, or about the means to be adopted for the attainment of that purpose, usually precedes that open disunion of will in the practical sphere which we call strife. The stability of a society of any size requires some form of government ensuring the co-operation of all its subjects, and relying in its turn upon their loyalty for efficient administration. Where this loyalty is absent, a state of revolt or rebellion exists, or at least the beginnings of such a state. Applied to the Church, these notions are commonly held to imply that unity of internal faith, of external profession, and of public worship, all held and directed under one authority, together make up ecclesiastical unity. But it is clear that unity of internal faith cannot be made manifest as such, but only by signs, *i.e.*, by external profession;

whilst unity of public worship is preserved, and its strength is more enhanced, by a diversity of rites, so long as the same faith is implied in all the rites. Since deception and dissimulation cannot be long maintained by any great number of men, it follows that the unity of the Church, considered as a note, means ultimately unity of external profession. For it is impossible to keep up, for any length of time, an outward pretence of unity where there is internal dissension. Human nature could not stand the strain.

Now, granted that Christ intended to found a Church which should endure for all time, reason itself suggests that the Church must possess unity, and in theory nobody would deny it. Hence we find very little disagreement among Christians about the need of some kind of unity; but the open dissensions which marked even the beginnings of the Reformation soon drove its followers to be content with a very attenuated form of unity. Open dissension in the visible society was soon held to be a matter of no moment, as the visible society was an accidental thing. The real Church, the essential thing, was held to be known only to God, and therefore invisible and essentially one, but only before God, though Lutherans and Calvinists alike taught the necessity of unity of external profession. But divisions and schisms increased so much, that finally the now well-known theory was put forward that unity of faith comprises only what are called 'fundamental articles,' all other doctrines being unessential. This came to be a familiar line of Protestant defence in England, and may be found, for example, in Chillingworth's *The Religion of Protestants a safe way to Salvation* (1637: chap III), and in the Calvinist Jurieu's book, *Le Vray Système*

de l'Eglise (1686), which drew a crushing reply from Bossuet in his famous *Histoire des Variations des Eglises protestantes*¹ (1688). Nevertheless this theory is still with us to-day in the many schemes for reunion, all of which attempt to find common ground on the least common multiple of Christianity. Against all this we assert the necessity of unity of external profession in the sense explained. We assert that unity is a perpetual character of Christ's Church, intended by Him, and that therefore a disunited Church cannot possibly be the Church Christ founded. In this sense unity is a *negative* or exclusive note. In a relative sense it can also be taken as a *positive* note, *i.e.*, by comparison with the dissensions of the sects, and it is often taken by the Fathers and controversialists as *historically* a positive note. Whether it is by *nature* a positive note, in other words, whether it is so exclusively the property of the true Church that it could not be possessed also by a sect, at least for a time, is not so clear. There are theologians who maintain that such a rigorous explanation of its nature could not be proved, though (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, No. 1794) Catholic Unity and unbroken stability is defined as 'a perpetual motive of credibility and an irrefragable testimony of her divine mission'; but that includes also the note of Catholicity.

To come then to the way Christ spoke about His Church. Christ never spoke of a plurality of Churches. In the commission to Peter it is 'My Church' that He has in mind, the same Church that He referred to so often as 'the kingdom of heaven,' 'the kingdom.' He speaks of that kingdom as an undivided one, for 'every

¹ For further information see the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. *Fundamental Articles*, by G. H. Joyce, S.J.

kingdom divided against itself shall be made desolate.' It is the one shepherding and the one sheepfold whereof He spoke, and which we usually translate as 'the one fold and the one shepherd.' It is the city set upon a hill; the net which collects all kinds of fishes; the field in which the corn grew up with thistles; the one pearl of great price; and the vine of which He is the stem. In all these figures of speech external unity at least is implied, for each figure presents to us something which is externally recognizable as a distinct and formal unit; whilst in the figures of the kingdom and the fold it is hard indeed to avoid the conclusion that Our Lord was stressing internal unity too, though there is no absolute need to labour the point. External unity, considered as a huge *façade* hiding internal disunion, is a chimera. As I have said before, men simply cannot act a farce in so serious and vital a matter for long. At any rate, the Church of Christ is in fact presented to us as His one fold, and as a fold presided over by a visible deputy, Peter. As the faithful are to Peter what sheep are to a shepherd, there can be no doubt that every Israelite, or Oriental for that matter, would gather clearly from Our Lord's words the impression of a society held together in perfect unity by a strong central authority. In fact the Old Testament is full of instances of the use of the verb 'to shepherd' where 'to rule' is meant. Authority could hardly be more absolute than it is in the hands of the shepherd; nor could obedience, which means internal unity, be better pictured. Each flock is a distinct entity, whilst to follow like sheep is a proverb in all languages. Moreover we have Christ's strong words about the consequences of division in a kingdom to bear out the same idea. Against His

Kingdom, founded on Peter, not even the gates of Hell should ever prevail. The natural conclusion is that He provided for the unity which He so clearly intended. His kingdom would never be divided against itself, but would remain for all time visibly and formally united *as the Church of Christ*, His kingdom on earth. His kingdom is a kingdom of believers in Himself and His words, and therefore unity essentially affects their internal faith, which is manifested in external profession.

Not only did Christ predicate unity of His Church, but, being the Builder, He built unity into its very structure. There is something of the nature of a supreme grace, a miraculous concession, in the unity He grants. He asks it of His Father, in His quality of divine legate and eternal Son of God. The very majesty of the petition itself, the purpose for which He asks, the circumstances which surround the prayer, said as it was on the eve of His Passion, and after the institution of the Most Blessed Sacrament in which He had given Himself to the Church—all these things force upon us the conclusion that in unity He saw something of a crowning mercy and unspeakable grace. It is as if, having given Himself as a proof of His love, and having nothing else to offer, He must needs turn to His Father and beg something of Him for us. Every plea which a loving son could urge upon an equally loving father is used by Our Lord in His sublime prayer for the unity of His Church. For its holiness also He prayed; but unity is the culmination of the prayer. 'Father, the hour is come, glorify Thy Son, that Thy Son may glorify Thee' (John xvii. 1). The glory of the Son is His unity with His Father. This is the glory which the Father who begot Him from all eternity gave Him in

begetting Him, and that glory the Son passes on to the Church in giving it unity in Him, and with Him, and through Him. 'And the glory which Thou hast given me I have given to them; that they may be one, as we also are one. I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect' (consummated) 'in one' (verses 21, 22). He is so clear, too, that it is not merely for the Apostles that He prays; 'And not for them only do I pray, but for them also who through their word shall believe in Me' (ver. 20). It is for the whole Church, for every member of that perpetual society of believers, He prays that they may always be one, always united, here on earth as much as in Heaven. For this unity is to stand for ever as a sign and proof of something. The unity of the Church, in Christ's intention, is to prove *to the world* the unity of Christ with, and in, His Father. Twice He repeats in His prayer that unity may stand as a sign, and as a sign to men of this world; first, of His union with the Father; and second, of the Father's love for those who believe in His Son. 'That the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me' (ver. 21), and 'that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast also loved Me' (ver. 23). The perfection of the unity for which He prayed may be estimated from His own comparisons. 'That they may be one, as we also are' (ver. 11), 'that they all may be one; as Thou, Father, in Me, and I in Thee; that they also may be one in us,' 'perfect in one.' He had held them together in unity Himself whilst on earth, all but the son of perdition. He is now leaving them, to return to His Father; He has sanctified them through His own sacred Personality, now so soon to be withdrawn, and He begs for an abiding principle

of unity and of sanctity, so that the mutual love of both Father and Son may be in the Church.

Can anyone doubt the meaning of a prayer like this? The unity Christ asks for as a sign of His own divine mission is bound to be at the same time the most potent mark of His own Church. We live in a world of men, not in a world of angels, and that means that every endeavour, be it never so high and noble, is fraught with the danger of disunion. Enterprises which call forth the greatest admiration, how many of them has the world seen abandoned through jealousies, misunderstandings, bickerings and cavillings! Self-interest, the most powerful motive in the world, is not enough to hold a community together for long. We are social beings, it is true, but, like the ions and electrons, we are in a constant whirl, seeking new associations, new ideas. Creatures of impulse, of the moment, unstable in our resolutions, faithless to our promises, deserters of our ideals, who shall hold us together and keep us faithful, especially in difficult matters, and when all the weight of our evil impulses, our tendency to follow the devil, the world and the flesh drive us to abandon a society which constantly urges upon us the practice of the greatest virtue? To be loyal to God is often difficult, and yet Christ intended to preserve perpetual loyalty and union to God in the Church throughout all times! He was asking for a moral miracle.

The doctrine of unity is further expounded in the New Testament. Not only are we told how the early Christians persevered 'with one mind' in prayer, in the Temple, and in the breaking of bread, but we find also that unity was insisted upon in the Church in its social aspect. The deacons are chosen and ordained when

'there arose a murmuring of the Greeks against the Hebrews,' the Council of Jerusalem is called because the Apostles had heard 'that some going out from us have troubled you with words,' and Peter gives an authoritative explanation of his reception of the Gentile Cornelius into the Church when 'those of the circumcision contended with him.' All these, and other events, show us a society desperately anxious to preserve unity of faith and order. The same thing applies if we turn to the dogmatic epistles; unity is stressed as one of the most important things in the Church. In Eph. iv. 1 *seqq.* we have a classical passage. 'Careful to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace. One body and one Spirit; as you are called in the one hope of your calling. One Lord, one faith and one baptism. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in us all.' St. Paul goes on to explain that this unity of the visible body (one baptism, one body) and of internal faith, necessary by the very fact of vocation to the Christian life, necessary, too, through the oneness of the Founder and the unity of the purpose for which the Church is founded, is maintained by the diversity of offices and graces which Christ gave to His Church. 'And He gave some apostles, and some prophets, and other some evangelists, and other some pastors and doctors, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying (*i.e.*, for the building up) of the body of Christ, until we all meet into *the unity of faith.*' St. Paul's conception of the Church of God as forming a unity with Christ its Head, analogous to the unity of head and members in the physical body of man, is too well-known to need labouring here. It occurs sufficiently frequently in his writings, and is

one of the most striking figures in the whole of the sacred writings. Cardinal Manning thought it one of the most useful points to develop in connection with the unity of the Church. For, just as in the body of man there are millions of living cells, each enjoying a perfection of individual life, yet all conspiring to the general good of the whole frame, so there are many members in the Church of God, each one living the fulness of life and attaining its own end, yet by that very fact co-operating in the general good of the whole Church. The activities of the whole body are governed by the head, so all the activities of the Church of Christ are governed by Him for the general good, and the work of salvation becomes a corporate affair without sacrificing in the slightest degree the importance and sacredness of the individual. Just as Christ was not given His own Sacred Body, but assumed it to His own divine Person, so He takes His mystical body. Nothing is thrust upon Him, but He gives the grace of vocation wheresoever He chooses, and builds in the new member by the vitality of the Head and by the Spirit which He Himself sent to abide in the Church for ever. There is a wealth of meaning in this figure, and the more one ponders over it the more one realizes how intrinsically impossible is any theory which divides the Church into distinct provinces or branches. For there is no unity so great or striking as the unity of the human body among things material, and no one can ignore the fact that no member of the body can live an existence separated from the whole organism or unrelated to it. The unity of the body is a visible thing, so unity must appertain to the Church as a visible society.

If we come to the Fathers we find the same conception

of the Church as possessing unity formally as a visible society. Passing over some strong expressions in St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians, we may take the words of St. Ignatius of Antioch in his letter to the Ephesians as representing the Greek Church's thought in the second century. He says: 'It is fitting that you should by all means glorify Jesus Christ, who hath glorified you; that by a uniform obedience ye may be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment, and may all speak the same about the same thing, and that, being subject to the bishop and the presbyters, ye may be sanctified in all things' (Eph. ii. 2). Unity of internal faith, of external faith and public worship are all included here. He has strong words for those who dare to tamper with the teaching of the Church. 'If, therefore, they who do these things according to the flesh have suffered death, how much more he, who by bad doctrine corrupts the faith of God for which Jesus Christ was crucified? Such a one, being defiled, shall depart into unquenchable fire, and likewise he that hears him' (Eph. xvi. 2). To the Philadelphians (viii. 1) he says: 'For where is division and wrath, God dwelleth not. The Lord forgiveth all who repent, if their minds be turned unto God's unity and the council of the bishop.' This last is a striking passage, for it emphasizes union of faith as manifested in external submission to authority. Clearly, therefore, he is not thinking of a mere internal and invisible unity, but of something externally manifest to everybody in outward obedience.

Two more quotations, one from St. Irenæus, and a short one from St. Cyprian's pen, must now suffice. The particular passage I have chosen from St. Irenæus,

though from a second century witness, is a sufficiently thorough one to serve as a treatise in reply to all modern non-Catholic theories. Moreover, he is also a witness to the ancient faith of the Greek Church. 'The Church,' he says (Migne P.G., vii, 554), 'though spread over the whole world to the earth's boundaries, having received, both from the Apostles and their disciples, the faith in one God, the Father Almighty . . . guards (it) sedulously, as though dwelling in one house; and these truths she uniformly holds, as having but one soul, and one and the same heart; and these she proclaims and teaches and hands down uniformly, as though she had but one mouth. For though throughout the world the languages are various, still the force of the tradition is one and the same. And neither do the Churches founded in Germany, nor those in Spain, in Gaul, in the East, in Egypt, in Africa, nor in the regions in the middle of the earth (*i.e.*, Jerusalem and Palestine), believe or deliver a different faith; but, as God's handiwork, the sun is one and the same throughout the universe, so the preaching of the truth shines everywhere, and enlightens all men that wish to come to the knowledge of the truth. Nor does he who amongst the rulers of the Churches is more powerful in word deliver a different doctrine from the above (for no one is above his teacher); nor does he who is weak in speech weaken the tradition. For the faith being one and the same, neither he who has ability to say much concerning it hath anything over, nor he who speaketh little any lack.'

In his *De Unitate* (cc. 4-5), St. Cyprian develops the theme fully and with great eloquence. I have chosen a passage in which he uses the same similitude as St.

Irenæus in the passage just quoted. 'The Church too is one,' he says, 'though extended far and wide, and is further multiplied by the increase of her fruitfulness. Even so the sun has many rays, yet one light; and the tree many boughs, yet its strength is one, resting on the firmly-clinging root; and whereas many streams flow down from one fountain-head, though a multiplicity of waters may seem to be diffused from the bountifulness of its overflowing abundance, yet is unity preserved in the common source. Part a ray of the sun from its orb, this division of light its unity allows not: break a branch from the tree, once broken it can bud no more: cut the stream from its source, the remnant dries up. Thus the Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, puts forth her rays through the whole world; yet the light is one which is spread over every place, while its unity of body is preserved.'

That unity is a mark of the Catholic and Roman Church needs no elaborate proof. Everybody admits it. Some try to explain it on natural grounds; others, a very few, have hinted that it is on the surface like a veneer; but it is safe to say that if any man says, 'I am a Catholic,' the whole world knows what he means. All know at once what he is expected to believe, *viz.*, what is universally taught by the teachers of the Catholic Church. All know him to be a subject of the Pope. Not only is the Catholic Church one in actual fact, but her constitution ensures the safeguarding of unity, for she exercises a perpetual teaching power, to which all must submit or be expelled from membership; but to explain her unity by attributing it to her wonderful discipline is to beg the whole question. For how is that discipline maintained, when all other authority in

the world is despised and rejected? If it be a superstition, why does it not die as every other superstition? If it be tyranny, by what force is it supported? From a worldly point of view it rarely pays to become a Catholic, for the Catholic Church is perpetually subject to persecution from the powers that be, so the supposed tyranny does not rest upon the material advancement of its victims. But if money be not the secret of Rome's supposed tyranny, there is only one thing left to support it, namely, force. Yet, what force has the Church to compel her members to submit to her in these days? Governments prate of the separation of Church and State, and there is no government in the world to-day which would punish its subjects for a breach of ecclesiastical law and discipline. Tyranny, then, it cannot be. Ignorance, to which the rationalist always flies when he wishes to explain the hold of the Church upon mankind, will not explain the unity of the Catholic Church any better than the other suggestions. For the wise, equally with the unwise, are held in willing bondage by the Church, and the rationalist who would claim the wisdom of the world as the exclusive possession of the atheist is living in the past, the dead past of Renan, Voltaire and the Encyclopaedists, and he forgets to take account of the new-born vitality of the Church of to-day. We may safely rely upon our own explanation of the fact of Catholic unity, which sees in it a moral miracle worked by God to draw the attention of the world to the repository of Christ's teaching and merits. No natural explanation will suffice. It is sufficient for our purpose that a disunited world admits the fact of Catholic unity.

(3) *Catholicity*

The name Catholic, as a name, is not a scriptural designation of the Church. But the true Church of Christ must verify the meaning of the word Catholic to be in accordance with the Scriptures. It has been the fashion for some time to say that Our Lord never intended to found a new and world-wide religion, but only to set up as a reformer of the Jewish national creed. Harnack, in particular, has distinguished himself as the supporter of this view, but it is safe to say that he offers no shadow of solid reasoning to support it. It can be held only on the basis of an unwarranted mutilation of the sacred text, of deliberate excision of every passage and incident from the New Testament which tells against it. How men arrive at such a frame of mind is difficult to imagine. Presumably they treat Judaism and Christianity as purely natural religions, in the same class as every other religion, superstition or creed, and then excise from them every distinctive mark. Now, the most distinctive thing about the Christian faith, as compared with every other, is its claim to be a universal faith. Such a claim could not be made unless its authors were intimately convinced of its truth; in fact, no other reason could be given which would win it universal adoption. The multiplication tables are universally accepted because they are true. So are the so-called laws of gravity, and all the phenomena of nature, the facts of daily life, of birth, disease and death—all these things are universally admitted because they are truths. So we need not wonder that men should dispute the Catholicity of the Church. To admit it would be to admit that it is the

true religion, and that might have serious consequences. We must expect them to treat this claim to universalism, as they call it, with contempt. The most effective way they have of combating it is to deny any conception of it to the Founder of the Church, and to say that the idea was born of the froth and excitement produced in the minds of the early followers of Christ by the fair measure of success with which their preaching met. Christ would have been an extraordinary being if He had even thought of making His teaching world-wide; and extraordinary religious thinkers are not provided for in the rules of the modern science of comparative religion. There they must all conform to type. If this particular one does not conform, he must be made to do so; and the textual critic is always at hand to remove anything which the student of comparative religion finds difficult of explanation. Of course it is labelled 'spurious' before being removed. I must presume the integrity and authenticity of the Gospel accounts against Harnack, and it can be presumed the more easily, as Harnack has not attempted to disprove them, but merely to excise passages on *a priori* grounds.

In profane literature the Greek word 'Catholic' expresses various shades of meaning which can be grouped round the central idea of 'whole' or wholeness, such as 'integral,' 'absolute,' 'general,' 'universal.' The word is used as meaning 'universal' by many Christian writers of the second century, by Justin, Athenagoras, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian and Cyprian; and the words or formula, 'the Catholic Church,' is first used, in writings still preserved, by St. Ignatius of Antioch, writing at the beginning of the second century. St. Polycarp also uses the phrase,

though Harnack will have it that it was interpolated four times by some copyist. What cunning people those early copyists were! They had an instinct for picking just those words which would be most useful to the Catholic apologist 1700 years later on. But they forgot that Harnack and his friends would be on the scene, and detect their frauds with such uncanny precision that they might just as well have been looking over their shoulders. The dogmatic sense of the word is made clear at the end of the second and the beginning of the third centuries in the writings of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, whilst among Latin writers the Greek word becomes naturalized as a substantive, and Tertullian speaks of the *catholica* when he means the Church. By this time it has become a sort of synonym for church. The Muratorian Fragment (c. 200) speaks of the Catholic Church as well as of the *catholica*. About the year 250 St. Cyprian wrote a whole treatise *On the Unity of the Catholic Church*, but the name occurs only in the title. It is clear, though, in the treatise, that for St. Cyprian there is only one Church, spread all over the world, which alone merits the title of 'Church.' It is in the fourth century, when the title is universally received into the symbols, that we get the really accurate determination of the meaning of it, though even then it is the East that uses it most generally and understands it best. In the catechism of St. Cyril of Jerusalem the reasons why the Church is called Catholic are given as: (1) because of her extension, (2) because she teaches all necessary truths, (3) because she subjects all classes of men, and (4) because she cures and heals all kinds of sin. But it is the first sense which remains the chief sense; and in the times of Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen

and Cyril it is common property that the Church is called Catholic because of her universal extension. The conclusion we come to from reading the writings of the earliest Greek and Latin writers who use the title is that they all look upon the name as something distinctively belonging to the one Church because of its unique world-wide diffusion. St. Cyril's advice in his catechism, always to ask for the *Catholic Church*, and not merely for the Church or the *Kuriakon*, so as to avoid being directed to heretical assemblies, is well-known. He adds: 'For this is the proper name of this holy thing and mother of us all, which is indeed the Spouse of Jesus Christ.'

We must not confuse tardiness and difficulty in admitting the use of the title as a synonym for *ecclesia*, with doubt about the Church's right to it. Men would naturally hesitate before accepting a new name to supplant the ancient name of the *ecclesia*, and the fact of its universal acceptance, once its meaning was clear, is a powerful argument in favour of it being a legitimate title. Those who accepted it must have felt that it belonged by right and in fact to the *ecclesia* to which it was attributed.

In words, at least, all Christians admit the name to-day; in fact, many of them show an embarrassing desire to appropriate it to themselves. The difficulty is to make them see that Catholic does not denote a quality. One cannot be more or less Catholic. One either is a Catholic or one is not. Neither does Catholic mean a world-wide aggregate of Christians, but a world-wide homogeneous gathering of believers. In other words, catholicity is not a mark of the Church which can be separated from unity. The title has no plural, or it would cease to be

a mark of the Church. You cannot speak of the Catholic Churches, but only of the Catholic Church. We have already seen that, in dealing with unity. The Church is not Catholic because a number of different sects happen to cover the face of the earth, each of which is regional or national in its scope and authority. It is Catholic because of its unity.

We assert that Christ intended His Church to be world-wide in character, as opposed to the national character of the Church of the Old Law. So all the evangelists assert, particularly St. John, who insists upon it on every occasion. 'To as many who received Him,' and not merely to the sons of Abraham, 'He gave power to become the sons of God.' St. John tells us of the 'Lamb of God who taketh away the sin *of the world*,' of the other sheep who are not of the Jewish fold, of Christ's reception of the Gentiles who wished to see Him, and so on. But the whole Johannine Gospel is suspect to the modern critic, who will have nothing but what is confirmed by the sincere synoptics, after he has purged them of their excesses. In the Synoptics, they maintain, there is confusion on the question of the mission of the Apostles. In Matt. x. 5, we read: 'Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles, and into the city of the Samaritans enter ye not.' There, we are told, we have the orthodox Jewish teacher, confining his activities to the men of his own race; and there, we are told, is the picture of the historical Christ, unspoilt by universalistic ideas. These latter are a corruption of the true thought and ideals of Christ. But the difficulty is not great, though it is much paraded. The first mission of the Apostles was indeed exclusively to the Jews, as was also the personal mission of Our Lord Himself. But

the mind that grants the reality of the election of the Jewish race by God, sees no difficulty in admitting that the personal mission of the Messiah should be to them exclusively. The whole history of God's dealings with His chosen people is the history of the preparation for the coming of the Messiah. To whom, then, should He address Himself at His advent more naturally than to those prepared to receive Him? 'He came unto His own, and His own received Him not.' To promise the Messiah to a people, and then not to send Him to them, or to send Him to others, would argue infidelity in God. But God is faithful, and Our Lord declares that He was in truth sent to the house of Israel; and it was God's plan that they should be the first comers in the kingdom of heaven. They were the heirs of the promise, and through them it was intended to call the rest of the world. Consequently the personal mission of the Messiah, and the first and interim mission of the Apostles, are to the house of Israel.

If we take St. Luke's order as chronological, we can distinguish two interim missions of the Apostles, the first to the Jews (ix. 1-6, 10), and the second to the Jews and Samaritans (ix. 52 *seqq.*). Then there is a third temporary mission of the seventy disciples to the Jews again (x. 1-18). Of the last two it is distinctly stated that they merely prepared the ground for Christ's own coming. Is it hard to believe that all three missions were but a co-operation with Him in His own personal mission, which was admittedly to the Jews, as to the heirs of the promise? After that preliminary task had been accomplished, and we must bear in mind that the Jews had prior rights in the matter, Our Lord clearly announces the universal character of His kingdom. He

says (xii. 8), 'Whosoever shall confess Me before men, him shall the Son of Man confess before the angels of God.' Here there is no restriction of the kingdom to the sons of Abraham, whilst in the next chapter (xiii. 29) he clearly tells the Jews that they will see themselves thrust out of the kingdom, 'and they shall come from the East and the West, and the North and the South, and shall sit down in the Kingdom of God.' Coupled, therefore, with the fulfilment of His own obligations to the Jews is the gradual revelation of the fact that the kingdom is universal, a thing which the very circumstances made necessarily gradual. Prejudices and national pride must be gradually and slowly dissolved. To have run counter to them would have been not only unfair to the Jews, but also the surest way of rendering the personal mission futile. Now all these temporary and partial missions must be rigorously distinguished from the perpetual and universal mission which He gave them after His death. By following St. Luke's order as chronological it is easy to solve the apparent contradictions in the accounts which St. Matthew and St. Mark give us, where the first and second missions of the Apostles are linked together as one, and the command not to enter the city of the Samaritans, which refers only to the first, seems to contradict St. Luke's account.

That these three missions to the Jews were not the sole work for which Our Lord intended the Apostles is apparent from the way Christ prepared their minds for a wider concept of religion. From St. John we learn how He spoke with the Samaritan woman, to the astonishment of the Apostles and the woman herself (iv. 9-27). On that occasion he announced the coming of the time

when 'neither on this mountain *nor in Jerusalem*' should men adore the Father—a reference to the end of the old dispensation (iv. 21). Contrary to the customs of the Jews, He remained two days with the Samaritans. In St. Luke's Gospel we are given the parable of the good Samaritan in which the same lesson is taught, and the Samaritan held up as a model to be imitated. 'Go, and do thou in like manner.' The Apostles are clearly expected to learn from these incidents not to consider the Samaritans as outcasts from salvation. The Apostles also observed how of the ten lepers healed only one, in the words of Christ, 'was found to return and give glory to God.' 'And this was a Samaritan,' whose faith had made him whole (Luke xvii. 11-19). These facts must have been fairly well known, for (John viii. 48) the Jews ask him: 'Do we not say well that Thou art a Samaritan and hast a devil?' In dealing with the Gentiles, Our Lord teaches the same truths, and thus prepares the minds of the Apostles and others for the reception even of the Gentiles into the Church. When the centurion asks for the healing of his servant, Our Lord is prepared to go into his house, and then publicly extols his faith above that of the Jews (Matt. viii. 5-13, and Luke vii. 1-10). And then in the middle of the account the universal declaration is made in solemn form: 'But I say unto you, many shall come from the East and the West, and shall sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of Heaven. But the children of the kingdom shall be cast out.' The same truth is taught in the incident of the Chananæan woman, where, after first seeming harshly to refuse her request, on the ground that He was not sent except to the house of Israel, He praises her faith and grants her the favour

asked (Matt. xv. 21-28: Mark vii. 24-30). Our Lord's miracles are not restricted to the Jews, for we read that in the first year of His ministry He cured the sick of Idumæa, Transjordania, and those who lived about Tyre and Sidon (Mark iii. 7-12), whilst in Matt. iv. 24 we read that 'His fame went throughout all Syria, and they presented to Him all sick people . . . and He cured them.'

It was to minds thus prepared that He clearly and doctrinally explained the universality of His teaching and His Church, in such parables as that of the Sower (the field is the world, the harvest is the end of the world: universality of time and space), the Mustard Seed (in Matt., Mark, and Luke), and of the Vineyard which should be transferred to others (Matt. xxi.), and also directly in such passages as Matt. xxiv. 14 ('And the gospel of the kingdom shall be preached in the whole world, for a testimony to all nations; and then shall the consummation come'), and Matt. xxvi. 13 and Mark xiv. 9 ('whosoever this Gospel shall be preached in the whole world'), and Mark xiii. 10 ('And unto all nations the Gospel must first be preached'). After His Resurrection He orders them to carry out the commands for which He had prepared them, and all the Synoptics report this the final and perpetual mission: 'Go ye into the whole world, and preach the Gospel to every creature' (Mark xvi. 15): 'Going therefore teach ye all nations' (Matt. xxviii. 19, and Luke xxiv. 47).

Insisting solely on the Synoptics, therefore, it is legitimate to conclude that Christ intended His Church to be universal in time and extent. We have already heard some of the testimonies of the Fathers on the point; to these may be added St. Ignatius of Antioch

(*Smyrn.* i. 2), who writes that Jesus Christ 'by His Resurrection raised up a standard for the saints whether among the Jews or the Gentiles in the one body of His Church.' In the *Shepherd* of Hermas there are several references to the same belief. The apologists in several well-known passages insist on the same thing, and point out the fact of the Church's universality.

St. Pacian (A.D. 370) thus writes upon the mark of catholicity:

'But under the apostles, you will say, no one was called catholic. Be it thus. It shall have been so. Allow even that. When, after the apostles, heresies had burst forth, and were striving, under various names, to tear piecemeal and divide *the dove* and the *queen* of God, did not the apostolic people require a name of their own whereby to mark the unity of the people that were uncorrupted, lest the error of some should rend limb by limb the *undefiled virgin* of God? . . . Suppose this very day I entered a populous city. When I had found Marcionites, Apollinarians, *etc.*, who call themselves Christians, by what name should I recognise the congregation of my own people unless it were named Catholic? . . . Certainly that which has stood through so many ages was not borrowed from man. This name Catholic tells not of Marcion, nor of Apelles, nor of Montanus, nor does it take heretics as its authors. . . . Christian is my name, but Catholic my surname. The former gives me a name: the latter distinguishes me. By the one I am approved: by the other I am *marked*. . . . Wherefore our people, when named Catholic, are separated by this appellation from the heretical name.' (Ep. i. 5, *etc.*)

St. Cyril of Jerusalem (A.D. 340) writes:

'Now it [the Church] is called Catholic because it is throughout the world, from one end of the earth to the other. But since the word Church is applied to different things . . . the Faith has delivered to

thee by way of security the article, *And in One Holy Catholic Church*; that thou mayest avoid their [the heretics'] wretched meetings, and ever abide with the Holy Catholic Church, in which thou was regenerated. And if ever thou art sojourning in any city, inquire not simply where the Lord's house is (for the sects of the profane also attempt to call their own dens houses of the Lord), nor merely where the church is, but where is the Catholic Church.' (Lect. 18.)

Writing against the heretical Donatists, St. Augustine (A.D. 400) says:

'Give me this Church if it is with you: show that you are in communion with all nations.'

It may be asked how far the Catholicity of the Church must extend to be a mark of its legitimacy. It is certainly not an immediate universality that Christ foretold, for obviously the preaching of the Gospel would take some time, but a universality of mission and nature, which would be realized in fact progressively. Neither would it be a universality of persons, since Christ clearly foretold that some would reject the Gospel, but rather a universality of places or nations, so that the true Church would be seen to be trying in all places to spread the knowledge of the Gospel, so that morally speaking there is no part of the world which can be said to have been deliberately neglected or refused the preaching of the Gospel. Granted the first diffusion of the Church, its initial propagation, how far does Catholicity notify the Church? *Negatively* it certainly notifies. That is to say that the Church which is not Catholic is certainly not the true Church. So that a Church which is deficient in its concept of itself, aiming at being regional or national, or one which is in fact deficient in

extent, or has lost missionary zeal and activity completely, is certainly not the true Church. It may be said to notify *positively* also, taking things in the concrete, so that the Church which is constantly manifest as a universal Church is the true Church, but it is not necessary to look always for a static and absolute universal diffusion, but rather at one time we shall expect to find an absolute and universal diffusion, at another a relative, at one time a static universality, at another a dynamic, and so on. Human affairs are like the sea, in a constant ebb and flow, and heresies and persecutions naturally affect the fortunes of the Church; but the opinion which says that the Church might through various vicissitudes be restricted to one province seems on the whole less safe than the opposite.

That Catholicity is a mark of the Roman Church to-day is not difficult to prove. That she is Catholic in time is apparent from the fact that no other date can be assigned for her birth, even by her opponents, than the first Pentecost. Every sect admits having broken away from her, thereby attesting that she was in existence before them. That she is Catholic in extent is proved by the number of her members, a number greater than that of any single sect, and greater than that of all the sects put together, even including the probably defunct Russian Church. Strictly accurate figures are impossible, but a round figure of 300 millions is safe. These were ruled in 1926 by 1095 diocesan ordinaries, 183 vicars apostolic, and 13 apostolic delegates. To which add 24 abbots with episcopal jurisdiction, 64 prefects apostolic, and 15 missions, making a total of 1391 territorial jurisdictions. There were in addition 523 auxiliary and titular bishops. The name

Catholic is everywhere recognized as the distinctive title of the Roman Church, even here in England where a small faction endeavour to appropriate it, but—*securus judicat orbis terrarum*. The zeal of the Roman Church for the spread of the faith is universally admitted, though sometimes called proselytism; and all nations, all classes of people, even sinners, are invited to membership within her boundaries. She is, moreover, the sole Church which is conscious of a mission to convert the other Christian bodies, and that in itself should be sufficient. Neither the schism of the Eastern Churches nor the Protestant disruption in Europe has diverted her from her purpose, or killed her activity. She has faced the brunt of the attack upon Christianity in the intellectual sphere during the past two centuries, and come through unscathed. The breakdown of Europe in the great war, which has wrought such havoc with other Christian bodies, has left her, if not in a superior position, at least unharmed, and the splendour and strength of the Catholic unity of the Roman Church is one of the marvels of our days.

PART II: SANCTITY AND APOSTOLICITY

(1) *Sanctity*

SANCTITY, which properly belongs to God alone, who is essentially holy, is in created things analogously, and is a quality by which they are subordinated to the supreme dominion of God by consecration. Mere subordination of the creature does not make it holy. Hence we do not speak of plants, minerals and animals being in themselves holy, though they are by nature subordinated to God. Consecration is required, in the case of free

beings by a free and conscious act of their own, and in the case of inanimate things and animals by the free and conscious act of their owners. In the case of free and rational beings the consecration is effected not merely by the use of an external rite, as in the case of things, but by a real conjunction of the soul with God, through sanctifying grace freely imparted by God.

The Church is nowhere called the holy Church in the New Testament, because here on earth she contains elements unholy as such, *viz.*, sinners, and therefore she is not holy in the absolute rigour of the word. But, says St. Paul (Eph. v. 26), 'Christ also loved the Church, and delivered himself up for it that He might sanctify it . . . that it should be holy and without blemish,' and the whole reason for the existence of the Church is to produce sanctity. Since its efforts in this regard depend on the free co-operation of its members, many of whom may refuse that co-operation it follows that it cannot lay claim to absolute and all-pervading sanctity on earth, but only in heaven, where the elect are confirmed in grace and holiness for ever. When, therefore, we speak of the sanctity of the Church, we mean, on the one hand, that as an instrument for sanctification she is perfect, holy in her teaching and holy in the means she uses for the attainment of her end; and on the other hand, that she does actually produce holiness in her children. When we speak of sanctity as a note of the true Church we do not mean that her sanctity in itself is apparent, for it is an invisible thing; but we mean that its fruits are apparent in the members to such a degree, that by comparison with the sects she can be recognized easily as the true Church. The comparison, to be just should be made on the basis,

not of quantity alone, but on the basis of quantity, quality and principle. That is to say, that the sanctity of the claimants should be assessed only in so far as it arises from, and is produced by, the distinct religious principles of each, and not merely in so far as it arises from something they all may hold in common. The fruits of sanctity claimed for Protestantism, for example, should be fruits arising from the peculiar tenets of Protestantism as such, and not from those dogmas which it retained at its secession from the Catholic Church. Formal Protestant sanctity is sanctity produced by purely Protestant principles and practices, just as formal Catholic sanctity is that produced by purely Catholic principles and practices as such. That comparison might be rather difficult for some, but an easier comparison is afforded when we say that the sanctity of the Church, as a note, is discernible on the mere basis of quantity and quality. The true Church will produce fruits of sanctity in its members more commonly, and of a higher degree of perfection, than any false claimant.

From what has been said it is evident that comparisons based upon the material progress, wealth, intellectual culture, and worldly position of nations professing one form of religion as against those possessing another are not valid comparisons. Morality is the sole legitimate test. The morality of the members in accordance with their religious beliefs should be compared with that standard of morality which Christ taught and expected from His followers, and the judgment should be made in favour of the Church producing the fruits of morality in more abundant and more heroic measure than the rest. It is as well to insist on the Christian virtues

being the only ones that can legitimately be brought forward for the purposes of comparison, because so often the comparison is made on other grounds. How often do we hear it said that this nation is the first in the councils of the world, and is a Protestant nation, therefore the Protestant religion is true and the Catholic religion false, because it is the religion of less favoured races? The whole argument is vicious in the extreme. To make it valid it would be necessary to show that worldly predominance is a Christian virtue, and that the worldly predominance of Protestant nations is formally due to the proper principles of Protestantism alone. Moreover the whole scheme of Christian morality must be the basis of comparison rather than one solitary virtue. Latins are often accused of being less honest than Anglo-Saxons, and it may well be true that petty theft is more common, or was more common in times past among the poorer Latin nations, though even that is open to dispute. But it should be remembered that honesty is looked upon by the Latins as a virtue to be practised, and consequently they might fail in it as in other virtues. But the Anglo-Saxon commercial communities were bound to treat honesty as a policy, for it is the life-blood of trade; and failures in policy are less frequent than failures in virtue, for policy is self-interest, whilst virtue is self-denial. In any case, however, honesty is but one of the virtues, and the whole scheme of Christian virtues is the only possible basis of comparison.

We have said that there are two ways of establishing the comparison. The first is to examine the proper principles of each of the Churches in themselves and in their effects, and the second is to compare the fruits

of sanctity produced by each. By way of preamble we ought first of all to establish that sanctity is a character which Christ intended His Church to possess; but that will have been established already in previous papers dealing with the nature and end of the Church. The difficulty about the first method of comparison, namely, the comparison of the proper principles of each sect, is that they have so very few. All of them retained a large part of the teaching of the Church they abandoned; and since all the teaching of Christ makes for moral perfection, they must have retained a great deal of goodness and holiness which is not due to their own proper principles; whilst we are not on such safe ground when we try to attribute their deficiencies to those things in which they differ from the old Church. One might argue, for instance, that the present-day breakdown of authority in religious matters outside the Catholic Church is due to the rejection of the authority of the Catholic Church as effect to cause; or that the greed and selfishness which afflicts the modern commercial countries is due to Protestant individualism; or, again, that the political subjection and the corruption of the Eastern Churches is due to the political ambition of Photius and others. But we should then be treading on very controverted ground, and such comparisons would also be odious and distasteful. Moreover, they are rather for the historian than the theologian.

Fortunately, there is the second comparison—the comparison of the quality and quantity of the sanctity produced by the Churches. Which means the examination into the eminent or heroic holiness of the various classes of Christians.

Over and above the primary and common fruits of

holiness, which must be fairly common in the true Church, there is the practice of the evangelical counsels of poverty, chastity and obedience, which we should expect to find officially recognized and organized by the true Church on a sufficiently large scale. For Christ intended them to be practised when He commended and praised them. 'All men take not this word, but they to whom it is given. . . . He that can take, let him take it' (Matt. xix. 10). 'If thou wilt be perfect, go, sell what thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven: and come, follow Me' (xix. 21). Following Him means 'becoming obedient even unto death.' He praises chastity of mind, heart and body, voluntarily preserved for God's sake, and by the help of God's grace. He praises that love of one's neighbour, which is the second, and like unto the first and greatest commandment, which induces men freely to give up their chances of earthly happiness and pleasure so as to be able to help the other children of God for His sake, and not for the sake of renown or praise amongst their fellow-men. These things are not commands, it is true, to any particular individual, but they are a command to the Church constantly to incite the more generous of her children to undertake the form of life they indicate. We could safely argue that the Church which never recognized any duty to urge this form of life on some of her children, would be deficient in the mark of holiness. Before such a form of life could become a visible mark of the Church, it would have to be adopted by a great number of her children, and be officially recognized and guided by the Church as part of her normal duties. It becomes more easily a mark when organized in the form of community life, though

that is not absolutely essential. Granted the egoism of mankind, it is a species of moral miracle, especially when viewed in conjunction with the reforming power of the Church to correct abuses. If the reforming power should die out, then the religious life in itself would be no mark of sanctity. *Corruptio optimi pessima*; the religious life, like all other good things, is open to abuse; but so long as the reforming power is not dead in the governing body of the Church, the abuses can be corrected and fervour once again restored. The abuses do not in themselves destroy the value of religious life as an element of the mark of holiness, but only when the abuses are coupled with the inability of the Church to correct them, and so become permanent. The history of the world has shown the innate tendency of human beings to practise the evangelical counsels in community; and so it is that the religious community life, which is precisely in concept the life of the evangelical counsels, becomes an element of holiness as a mark or note of the Church.

The third element is heroic sanctity. A comparison will help us. Take the educational system of our country. We should judge it to be a failure unless it produced three things. First, a fairly general possession of the primary fruits of education. (Shall we call it a knowledge of the three R's?) Second, we should expect to find a smaller, but still sufficiently large body, of people generally well educated, whom we call the educated classes. But in the third place we should also expect to find a still smaller, but noteworthy, body of real experts in the various branches of learning. So the true Church must produce fairly generally the primary fruits of holiness; not so generally, but still in

great numbers, people who follow the higher forms of holiness; and thirdly, she must produce her experts in holiness, whom we call men of heroic sanctity. Otherwise she is a failure in her work. The person of heroic sanctity is one who is a complete follower of Christ in everything, a being perfect in faith, hope and charity, completely master of self and passion, firmly grounded in humility, the whole burden of whose life is the will of God in everything. This extraordinary and heroic sanctity connotes the true Church, especially where God gives it in its sublimest forms frequently, and confirms it with miracles. It is a prior and a greater testimony to sanctity as a note than the working of miracles, for it is not impossible that God would grant miracles to the member of a false church, not in testimony of its false doctrine, but, as St. Thomas says (*Summa*, 2-2, q. 178, 3), 'in commendation of the name of Christ which they invoke, and in virtue of the Sacraments which they show'; that is, in confirmation of that part of their faith which is true. I say that it is not impossible *a priori*, though in the ordinary ways of divine providence such signs are not given, because they would confirm people in invincible error. But miracles and even martyrdom might conceivably be granted to members of a false church in good faith, in testimony of that part of their faith which is true. Hence in canonisation the Church first judges of the heroicity of the virtues of the candidate, and accepts no miracles in confirmation of her judgment except such as God grants after the death of the candidate. 'Many,' says Our Lord, 'will say to Me in that day: Lord, Lord, have we not prophesied in Thy name, and cast out devils in Thy name, and done many miracles

in Thy name? And then I will profess unto them, I never knew you: depart from Me, you that work iniquity' (Matt. vii. 22). It is the working of justice, which may or may not be accompanied by the working of miracles, and not the mere working of miracles, that is real sanctity. Hence we say that sanctity is better known as a mark of the Church through the production of heroic virtue than through the production of miracles, though we do not deny that heroic virtue is illustrated and enhanced by the grace of miracles. In fact, Christ promised that it would be so enhanced. 'These signs shall follow them that believe: in My name they shall cast out devils,' *etc.* (Mark xvi. 17-18). But that is quite a different thing from saying that wherever miracles are worked there is the true faith, for *of themselves* miracles, even in those who are rightly disposed, do not necessarily argue perfect faith, but perhaps only either initial faith, incomplete faith, or faith imperfect in quality. All these things are clear from the Gospels alone, where we have many instances of each. On the other hand, it is safe to argue that a Church which denies the possibility or necessity of miracles in these days is not, in view of Mark xvi., the true Church.

Having said so much by way of explanation, we say that sanctity marks out the Catholic Church as the true Church. The Catholic Church does indeed produce the ordinary fruits of sanctity on a very extensive scale, formally, in virtue of her own teaching and principles; but we refrain from drawing any detailed comparison with the sects outside the Catholic Church on these grounds, so as to avoid acrimonious controversy. There are virtues like chastity, humility and charity, where comparison might sound very like a denunciation

of one's own country. But one or two general remarks must be made. It would be impossible for any of the sects to show that the common virtues which they produce can be formally attributed to their own proper Protestant or schismatical principles, whilst it would not be impossible to show that their deficiencies may be due to those principles. The good they do is so obviously due to what they retained of Catholic teaching, whilst anything evil in the Catholic body is so obviously due to a neglect of Catholic teaching, that the thoughtful man will be able to evolve an argument for himself. Moreover, the common estimate of the Catholic Church gives her an exclusive claim to holiness as a mark. Everybody knows that the Catholic code of morality is the strict code, and even non-Catholics are more scandalized by the sin of a Catholic than by that of a non-Catholic. The very accusations of laxity in times past, which some Protestant historians delight in making, would lose their force if the Church's teaching were not opposed to the laxity and scandals. What such people fail to see is the recuperating power, the reforming power, which the Church has demonstrated to be hers. They live in the times of Martin Luther still, when their eyes should be turned to the daily communions of so many thousands of modern Catholics, to the fervour which spends itself in confraternities and communities without number, in good social works of every kind. They should think of the sacrifices Catholics have made to uphold such causes as Christian education of youth, the solitary stand they take up against such immoralities as birth-control, divorce, the mutilation of the unfortunate, and so on. In the world of to-day there is one Church which is not afraid to uphold Christian teaching

simply because it is Christian, and that Church is the Catholic and Roman Church. A Church fails, proves itself defectible, as much by abandoning Christian morality as by denying articles of faith. But we need say no more on this point.

When we come to the practice of the evangelical counsels, in the religious life particularly, the Catholic Church stands easily supreme, both for fervour and for the multitude of her children who adopt it. The motives which induce them to adopt it are of the highest, and the act is completely voluntary. The religious life is in no way compulsory, as seems to be sometimes the case with the Eastern Church, nor is it stagnant. It is constantly tackling fresh problems, or approaching the old ones with new methods. In the last century new congregations for the care of the sick, both in hospitals and in their own homes, new missionary societies of religious, new congregations of women who dedicate themselves to the work of reparation to the Divine Majesty, have arisen without in any way ruining the older ones. Each of them has had the formal sanction and encouragement of the Church, and the laws she has laid down in her canon law for their government provide against any general or long-continued abuse. All these congregations have produced in our own times men and women of heroic sanctity, and not a few of them have produced Saints. It is no wonder that an attack upon the Church always begins with an attack upon the religious orders. The very enemies of the Church recognize in them the bulwarks of the Church's sanctity.

Every soul of heroic sanctity is not canonized. The lives of many are known only to God. But, confining ourselves to those canonized, the Roman Church is

again supreme. The argument is still valid to one who refuses to believe in the theological implications of canonization. He can accept the verdict of the Church merely on natural grounds, as the official attestation of extraordinary sanctity, and still be convinced of its value. For the process of canonization has not been made easier, but much more difficult and laborious, since the secession of the Protestant bodies. The verdict is not the verdict of the mob, based on a mere physical fact like incorruption after death, but it is the verdict of expert and learned judges, issued by authentic tribunals after hearing all the evidence and all possible objections from every point of view. The full process is given in d' Herbigny, *de Ecclesia*, vol 2, p. 108. In spite of the rigour of the examination 356 candidates were beatified in the nineteenth century, whilst Pius VII canonized five, Gregory XVI five, Pius IX fifty-two, and Leo XIII eighteen. Pius X beatified ten confessors and virgins, and sixty-three martyrs, many killed in the nineteenth century, and canonized four saints. Benedict XV, though he reigned only about seven years, held several beatifications and canonizations.

The comparison between the Catholic and the Russian processes reveals the value of the Catholic process in stronger light. But in her official attestation of the lives of so many of her children as lives of heroic virtue the Catholic Church challenges the judgment of the world upon her claim to holiness.

(2) *Apostolicity*

It is impossible to deny that apostolicity is a character which Christ intended His Church to possess without denying the whole New Testament account of Our

Lord's life, and the tradition and history of the early Church. Speaking generally, apostolicity means that the true Church cannot be other than the one which Christ commissioned His Apostles to found in His name. It implies apostolicity of origin, doctrine, and ministry. A few words must be said about each.

Apostolicity of origin means that legitimate juridical succession can be traced in an unbroken line back to the Apostles as to the divinely commissioned founders of the Church. In other words, a corporation, a moral entity or society, was called into being by the Apostles, acting for Our Lord. To it was assigned a certain task, requiring the possession of certain powers and rights and privileges. As that society's purpose cannot be fully attained until the end of the world, it must last till then; and, therefore, the actual commission it received on its foundation, the powers, rights and privileges that were then granted to it, must be handed on from generation to generation and from person to person. Christ's 'sending' of the Apostles, His 'mission' to them contained in the words 'Go, ye, therefore and teach all nations,' was not a mere reminder to them that a certain task had to be fulfilled by anybody who cared to do it. It was not similar, for instance, to His, 'Watch ye therefore and pray, lest ye enter into temptation,' which is directed to all mankind. No, it was the definite commission of chosen men to a definite and age-long task that could not be performed by everybody and anybody. It was not open to any individual who cared to do so to associate himself with the Apostles. They had needed a 'mission' or a sending, and others who came after them or worked with them also needed the same authoritative 'mission.' 'How shall they preach,' says St.

Paul, 'unless they be sent?' And he is but echoing Our Lord's words: 'As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you,' *i.e.*, with power, authoritatively.

This 'sending' by proper authority is the very basis of juridical and legitimate succession, and it requires a manual and verbal transmission of authority in unbroken line back to the Apostles and Christ, so that only he who is lawfully sent has lawful authority. Hence an intruder, a usurper, cannot have jurisdiction. He is not lawfully sent. Hence also a break with the past is a sure proof that apostolicity of origin has been lost. It is like a short circuit on an electric cable. The solicitude of the early Church about its catalogue of bishops in the different places was due to juridical reasons. The authority of the present bishop to rule his Church was attested by the validity of the authority of all his successors back to the first, and care about establishing his lineage was only proper respect for his own authority, which rested upon his lineage as upon its credentials and proof. We shall return to this question of apostolicity of origin. Meanwhile let us consider apostolicity of doctrine, which flows from it.

I say 'flows from it' deliberately, because the reverse process is often taken to be the true one, particularly in England. By extraneous, usually historical, proofs a doctrine is established as apostolic. Then we get the following argument: This particular sect or Church teaches apostolic doctrine. It possesses, therefore, apostolicity of origin. The argument puts the cart before the horse. Apostolicity of origin is proof of apostolicity of doctrine, but not *vice versa*. Granted that God preserves the true Church from error, it will always be a safe argument that the apostolic Church

teaches apostolic doctrine. It could not do otherwise. But to say that because a sect teaches apostolic doctrines it must be apostolic in origin, is to beg the whole question. Has it any authority to teach at all? That must first be established; and it can only be established by proving apostolicity of origin, *i.e.*, by tracing commission to teach in unbroken line back to the Apostles, by legitimate juridical succession in the commission.

Apostolicity of doctrine means, therefore, the full profession of that teaching which Christ taught the Apostles, and which they in turn were to teach the world. But it must rest upon apostolic origin, for it must be professed for the same motives as those for which it was professed in the beginning, *i.e.*, because the teaching body has divine authority to teach. It is not sufficient to possess doctrinal documents of apostolic date. The appeal to history, which is so commonly made to-day outside the Catholic Church, is beside the point. The appeal to the authority to teach is the only valid one. God never guaranteed that He would leave sufficient historical evidence to keep the Church from error (documents, monuments, and so on), but He did guarantee to keep the legitimate teaching body from error 'all days, even to the consummation of the world.' All that is necessary is to find that legitimate teaching body. There was never a guarantee given by God that whatever documents might be written would contain the whole faith; whilst the use of historical evidence to supplant the clear teaching of the legitimate *hic et nunc* teaching body is religious topsy-turvydom.

Apostolicity of ministry means authority to teach, rule and sanctify transmitted from the Apostles and received by them from Christ. It includes the power of

orders; but as the power of orders is separate from jurisdiction, it is evident that valid orders may exist outside the true Church. Formal heresy and schism do not destroy the power of conferring orders; and a heretical bishop can found a hierarchy whose orders are valid, though illicit, but which possesses no valid authority or jurisdiction, no apostolicity, therefore, of origin, or of doctrine.

From what has been said it is clear that mere administrative succession in the same place is not apostolicity, for it includes no mission, whilst mere possession of the temporalities of an apostolic See no more establishes a claim to apostolicity than the fact of being born in a stable establishes a claim to be called a racehorse. Moreover, the transmission of orders to people who have no claim to apostolicity of origin is 'throwing pearls before swine,' 'giving the holy things to the dogs.' It is a desecration which St. Augustine likens to treating a prostitute like a wife.

If we presume, as proved in other papers, the fact of the collegiate mission of the Apostles with subordination to a primacy of jurisdiction always held by one man, it follows that for true apostolicity both the one receiving and the one giving 'mission' must be in communion with the apostolic college of to-day, and a subject of the primate of the Church. Otherwise the succession is vitiated. The unity of the Apostolic college does not require the unanimous perseverance of each member (it is enough to mention Judas) nor any definite number of members (Paul, Barnabas, Matthias), but it does require the primacy of Peter as its foundation.

Hence, formal apostolicity means the transmission of authority in full communion with Peter through his

successors. In applying it as a note we must look for the Church in which the collegiate succession of the Apostles is maintained after the original pattern. Or we may look for the Church in communion with Peter's legitimate successor. Easier still, we can look only for the legitimate successor of St. Peter, for he must be in communion with the legitimate apostolic college and apostolic Church. This rapidly and lawfully narrows the search and points to one only true Church—that which is Catholic and Roman.

Another way of testing the apostolicity of a Church is to examine its date. Unless it carries A.D. 33 (or thereabouts) on its *façade*, it cannot be the Apostolic Church; and the history of literally every Church but the Catholic and Roman Church begins centuries after that date. It is, moreover, in every case, the history of a break with the past. The one Church which can boast that its origin is not due to a break with the past is the Catholic Church. All the rest admit, some even glory in admitting, that their origin is due to a break with the past. They all must admit it, for history leaves them no alternative. We need not here judge of the motives which they allege as the cause of the break. The fact is enough. It may have been the supposed immorality of the Roman Church, or its ambition, or a desire for freedom, or national pride. Be what it may the cause, they broke with the past. The Catholic Church stands alone in the world as the one institution that has not broken with its history, and that history goes back to the right date. Men can suggest no other time for her birth than the first Pentecost, nor do they quarrel with her assertion that she is in direct and formal continuity with the Church of the Christian Ages. They may accuse her

of having degenerated at one period or another, they may say she was corrupt, but they cannot say either that she died or broke with her past. She was the same Catholic Church all the time, now weak and now strong, now oppressed and now favoured, but always the same thing, often dying but never dead, rising in strength again and again, the life in her rekindled when the ashes showed no trace of fire; she rises, the reforming power within as strong as ever, her zeal again enkindled and her success staggering the minds of her enemies. She is the mystery of the world. Yesterday and to-morrow are not for her, the changeless one who is ever the same.

They know she is the same. Let them find a scandal in her history, some unfortunate prelate or Pope, and they hurl it at the Catholic Church of to-day. They do not say, 'The Church which did this evil thing is no more. Let us forget.' But they accuse her of it, because they know she is the same thing to-day as yesterday. They would make her as eternal in the sins of her weak children as she is in her God-given constitution. But she may safely ask, where is the apostolic Church, if it be not herself? For no other has fulfilled the first necessary condition—that of existing formally the same thing for twenty centuries. Either she is the primitive Church, or else it has perished, and there is no true claimant to the honour.

Our Lord seems to have been almost more anxious to establish during His life His quality of divine legate than His claim to be the Son of God. 'The very works which I do,' He says, 'bear witness to Me that the Father hath sent Me' (John v. 36). He is careful to tell us that 'all power is given to Me in heaven and on

earth' as the preamble to the commissioning of the Apostles; and after fully establishing His own commission He visibly and externally communicates His power and work to them. Why this care, if there be not something essential in producing proper credentials? What the Church has received, constitution, authority, commission, orders, and doctrine, she has received from Him, and all that she can give is precisely what He gave, and in the form in which He gave it. The Apostles themselves, seeing that they were formed as a collegiate body, do not dare to alter their constitution, but elect Matthias to be a collegiate witness with themselves.

Hence St. Paul appeals to apostolicity as the means by which the neophytes are built into Christ. 'Ye are no longer strangers and foreigners, but ye are fellow-citizens of the saints and members of the household of God' (Eph. ii. 19). Why? Because 'ye are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets' (of the New Law): 'Christ Jesus Himself is the corner-stone. In Him all the building is duly fitted together, and groweth into a temple holy in the Lord' (Eph. ii. 20-21)

The testimonies of the Fathers are to the same effect. The following will give some indication of the strength of their testimony. St. Irenaeus, after enumerating; the Bishops of Rome who had succeeded each other from Peter, adds:

'By this order and by this succession, both that tradition which is in the Church from the apostles and the preaching of the truth have come down to us; and this is a most complete demonstration that the life-giving faith is one and the same which from the apostles even until now has been preserved in the Church, and *transmitted* in truthfulness. . . . So also Polycarp, who was appointed by the apostles Bishop of Smyrna. Him we saw in our early days. . . .

The things which he learned from the apostles, he uniformly *taught* and delivered to that Church, which *alone are true*' (*Adv. Haeres.* iii. c. 3.).

St. Cyprian (A.D. 254) writes:

'Novatian is not in the Church—who, despising the evangelical and apostolical tradition, succeeding to nobody, has sprung from himself' (*Ep. ad. Magnum*).

Tertullian (A.D. 190) writes of such Churches as would claim to be true Churches, as follows:

'Let them unroll the line of their Bishops, so coming down by successions from the beginning that their first Bishop had for his consecrator and predecessor some one of the apostles or apostolic men Let the heretics counterfeit something of the same sort' (*De Praescript*, 32).

Similarly, St. Epiphanius (A.D. 370):

'The apostles preached not themselves, but Jesus Christ. Hence there is not a single sect or Church called after the apostles. Hence they confer one name upon the Church, not their own, but that of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . which alone is the Catholic Church.' (*Adv. Haeres.* c. 42).

And again, St. Jerome (A.D. 380):

'Whenever you hear those who are said to be Christ's named not after Christ, but after some one else, . . . know that it is not Christ's Church. From this very fact that they were instituted at a later period, they prove themselves to be those whom the Apostle foretold were to be. Nor let them feel satisfied with themselves to affirm what they say from Scripture, since even the devil spoke some things out of the Scriptures; and the Scriptures do not consist in being read, but in being understood' (*Adv. Lucifer*, c. 27).

We may conclude with St. Augustine (A.D. 400):

'The agreement of people and of nations keeps me in the Catholic Church: an authority begun with miracles . . .

strengthened by antiquity, keeps me: *the succession of Priests from the very Chair of Peter* (to whom the Lord committed His sheep to be fed) down even to the present Bishop, keeps me' (*Contr. Ep. Fund Manich.*).

These then are the marks of the true Church. That is the Church, which is always and at the same time one, holy, Catholic and Apostolic; and if these signs point indubitably to Rome, it is something not to carp at, as if Rome had invented such marks, but something for which to be grateful to God, who has made the way to the truth so clear and sure.

VII.

THE ENDOWMENTS OF THE CHURCH: INDEFECTIBILITY AND INFALLIBILITY.

BY THE VERY REV. RICHARD DOWNEY, D.D., Ph.D.

DURING the last four hundred years, that is to say, since the disruption of Western Christendom at the Reformation, religious controversy has centred more and more round the nature and constitution of the Church. Just as it took centuries before the Christological controversy which distracted the early Church received its final settlement at the sixth Oecumenical Council in 680 A.D., so, too, the theological tract *De Ecclesia* has gone through a long period of formation, in the course of which many heresies have been eliminated. St. Thomas Aquinas in his *Summa Theologica* has no formal treatise *De Ecclesia*, for the simple reason that the questions which agitate modern minds as to the organization and functions of the Church had not arisen in his day, at least in any practical form. They grew out of the historical necessities, and moulded the tract *De Ecclesia*, as earlier events had moulded the tract *De Verbo Incarnato*.

Thus, during the great Western Schism, doubts as to the person of the Pope paved the way for questionings as to his office, and, with a view to rationalizing the troubled situation, Gerson propounded what was in essence a new theory as to the constitution of the Church. In the course of centuries Gallicanism became

a complete system, digested into elaborate treatises on the Church, issuing in a definite challenge to Catholic doctrine which the Fathers met in council at the Vatican could not ignore.

Again, the internal structure of the Church of Christ was assailed in the sixteenth century. Men then stood at the parting of the ways, at the junction of the old classical Renaissance, which was breaking up, and the new Protestant Reformation, which was just dawning. The echoes of the frenzied invective of Savonarola against the pagan vices begotten of the classical revival had hardly faded away, before the thunderings of Luther broke forth from the pulpit of Wittenberg, and reverberated throughout Christendom. It was indeed, as Newman has said, 'a time of sifting and peril.' On the one hand, there were those who had quite frankly reverted to pagan ideals and standards: Erasmus, the foremost man of letters of his day, speaks seriously of St. Virgil and St. Horace; whilst others, in their veneration of Greek culture, paid religious honour to pagan heroes, and installed Plato in the seat of Peter. On the other hand, there were those who, with a mistaken idea of reacting against the Renaissance and returning to the plain simplicity of the Gospels, threw over the authority of the Church altogether, and went out to wander in the wilderness of private judgment.

Underlying these historical events was the fundamental question, vital and insistent, had the Church, like innumerable other societies, corrupted its way in the course of the ages? Had it so changed its essential characteristics that it could no longer be identified with the organization founded by Christ? The Reformed Churches answered in the affirmative, and in their

several ways claimed to be reverting to the essential principles of Christianity. It was nothing to them that they were departing from the teaching of the Fathers, who had proclaimed that the barque of Peter could never crash upon the rocks nor founder in the deep (*Pseudo-Ambrose, Sermo de Salamone*; P.L. 17, 697). They did not hold with Augustine that 'the Church cannot be overcome nor rooted up; it cannot yield to any trials whatsoever until the end of this world comes' (St. Aug., *Enarratio in Ps. LXII*; P.L. 36, 726). Such old-fashioned views stood in the way of 'reform,' and so the indefectibility of the Church was either rejected altogether or predicated only of a mysterious invisible church of the reformers' own imagining. The Socinians, greatly daring, boldly maintained that even the invisible Church could fail. Calvin hedged, and held that Christ was with the Church in her teaching office only with regard to the truths which the Genevan theologian held to be necessary for salvation; in other matters, he declared, she had shown herself to be the pillar and ground of error. Others, again, made an arbitrary distinction between fundamental and non-fundamental truths, and restricted the divine guarantee to the former, ignoring Christ's commission to the Apostles and their successors to teach 'all things whatsoever I have commanded you' (Matt. xxviii. 20). Weird and wild speculation as to the nature and measure of the Church's indefectibility ran riot.

Later came the Jansenists, contending that the Church as a whole was in a state of senile decay, and that the true doctrine of Christ had been overclouded in the course of the ages. This attack from within on the indefectibility of the Church was voiced formally, at

the Synod of Pistoia, in the following proposition which Pius VI, in 1794 A.D., stigmatized as heretical: 'The proposition which asserts that in these last ages a general darkness has spread over truths of graver moment which regard religion, and which are the basis of faith and of the moral doctrine of Jesus Christ.' In more recent times the Modernist theory as to the relativity of truth, even, and it would appear especially, revealed truth, has stripped the word 'indefectibility' of all legitimate connotation. The defectibility of the Church is the first article of the Modernist creed, without which all its other articles would be unintelligible.

Reformers, Gallicans, Jansenists and Modernists notwithstanding, one would have thought that if anything is writ large across the pages of the New Testament, it is that the Church founded by Christ is indefectible, that is, that she cannot fail (*in*, not; *deficere*, to fail). On analysis we see that the indefectibility of the Church involves three elements:

- (a) Immutability; she cannot in essence become other than Christ constituted her.
- (b) Perpetuity; as the Church of His founding she must last till the end of time.
- (c) Integrity; it is the Church *as a whole* that cannot fail. Parts of the Church may be corrupted by heresy, as happened during the Arian domination; or when Asia was swept by the Mussulman, or England by the Protestant Reformation. But all its parts cannot fail simultaneously, and one part, the See of the Vicar of Christ, cannot fail at all. To the Apostolic See of Rome alone 'faithlessness cannot gain access,' says St. Cyprian,

since it is the *ecclesia principalis* and *Petri cathedra*, the sovereign Church, the See of Peter, who received the divine commission to confirm his brethren. (*Epistola* LV: *Ad Cornelium de Fortunato et Felicissimo, sive contra haereticos*: Migne, *P. Lat.*, III. 818-821).

These attributes of essential immutability, perpetuity and integrity must inhere in the Church of Christ's founding, if she is to fulfil His divine commission to teach all nations, unto the consummation of the world, unto the uttermost parts of the earth; her distinguishing original endowments must be for all times and all places; her principle of individuation, so to speak, must be for ever unchanged and unchangeable.

Yet the Church is a living organism, and consequently there must be growth, movement, adaptation, change. Life is the power of intrinsic self-motion, involving the faculties of self-reparation and self-reproduction. It is therefore essentially kinetic and dynamic: and nevertheless, if the organism is to remain in any sense the same, there must be a static element. Aristotle of old reconciled the apparently conflicting theories of Heraclitus and Parmenides as to the ultimate nature of reality. He showed that it is not, as the former thought, mere illusive flux, nor, as the latter contended, unchanging permanence; but that, in every reality, there is a passive and an active element, something static and something kinetic, something fleeting and something abiding, something amidst the vortex of change with a real grip upon existence, something of which the mere transitory attributes are predicated. Thus. throughout all the successive changes of man's bodily

organism, his *ego* remains always the same. This identity of personality is radicated in the soul, in the immaterial, incorruptible entity which animates the body, and which survives the body's dissolution.

St. Paul makes use of the analogy of the human body to explain the doctrine of the mystical body of Christ. As in the bodily organism there are diversity of members but unity of life, so too, is it in the mystical body of Christ, the Church. The natural Christ is the head of that body, completing and completed by its members; we, who have been baptized into the Church, are its members; and the Holy Spirit is its soul or animating principle. Just as the soul of man is the principle of his immortality, so the soul of the mystical body of Christ, the Holy Spirit, is the principle of its indefectibility.

Consequently this mystical body of Christ, this Church, cannot fail in any of its essential characteristics. Unlike every other society, it is perennial in its original constitution. The natural tendency of every society is to deteriorate with the course of time; it outlives its utility, or fails to adapt itself to the changing exigencies of the age. For this reason it has even been said, with a spice of malice perhaps, that no religious order ought to outlive its founder. Certainly, in the case of secular societies, a time comes when disintegration sets in, and the organization either perishes outright or changes its essential character, the *magni nominis umbra* alone surviving. But in the case of the Church of Christ, her divine Founder has promised that the gates of hell shall never prevail against her (Matt. xi. 18). If we take the 'gates of hell' to signify the power of death, we have, as Dieckmann points out (*De Ecclesia*,

vol. I, p. 368), a direct statement of the absolute indefectibility of the Church, since she is not subject to any of the disintegrating elements which bring death to a society. She remains deathlessly *semper eadem*. If, on the other hand, with St. Athanasius, we follow the more usual Catholic interpretation, and take the 'gates of hell' to mean the power of the devil and the forces of evil generally, the sense, then, is that no created power, however strong, can prevail against the Church of Christ. In either case the words of Christ connote the 'immovable kingdom' of St. Paul (Heb. xii. 28).

Essentially involved in the property of indefectibility is what Cardinal Manning describes as 'the perpetuity and universality of the mission of the Church as the teacher of mankind' (*Petri Privilegium*, III, p. 59). If she is to fulfil her master's commission without fail, she must needs be infallible, incapable of teaching error on a point of faith or morals, *i.e.*, indefectible in the soundness of her teaching. Her teachers, her bishops, are infallible, not singly or met together in particular councils, but when assembled in Oecumenical Council under the headship of the Pope, or, as a body in union with the supreme pontiff, in the ordinary exercise of their universal teaching authority. 'The Church,' says Perrone, 'performs the office . . . of *magistra* . . . in her daily ministry, wherein by verbal and practical inculcation she instructs the faithful in all those things which conduce to their training; in pure doctrine and morality, and leads them, as it were, by the hand along the path of eternal salvation. Catholics contend that Christ has endued the Church with infallibility in the performance of this office' (*De Locis*, n. 347). A

favourite theory of the Gallicans, which has been resuscitated by modern Anglicans, was that some special power of inerrancy in the teaching office accrued to the bishops of the Church when, and only when, they were gathered together in General Council. This curious theory seems to radicate infallibility in the mere physical fact of the collection of bishops in one place, instead of in the promise of Christ that He would be with His appointed teachers all days. As Père Billot has pointed out, the divine assistance is as easily vouchsafed to bishops apart as to bishops in council. The bishops of the Church, teaching in union with, and under the headship of, the supreme Pontiff, are infallible, whether they be met together in solemn council, or scattered over the dioceses of the world in the active discharge of their divine commission.

The infallibility of the Church extends to all things whatsoever Christ commanded the Apostles and their successors to teach. Clearly, then, the direct object of her infallibility is whatever is formally contained in the Deposit of Faith, whatever truths are divinely revealed, either explicitly or implicitly. Thus, the statement, 'the Word was made flesh,' reveals explicitly the real humanity of Jesus, and implicitly that He has a human soul, since this is immediately implied in the explicit statement. Both the explicit and the implicit statements come within the range of the Church's infallibility.

But from the very nature of the case, the prerogative of infallibility has a wider scope than that of formally revealed truth. Indirectly, the infallibility of the Church in her teaching office extends far beyond the ambit of formal revelation to 'whatsoever is necessary

for its exposition or defence, and whatsoever is contrariant to the Word of God, that is, to faith and morals' (*Petri Privilegium* III, pp. 66, 67); for, as Van Noort says, 'If the Church were infallible in revealed truths, but not in matters inseparably connected with them, she would be like a commander ordered to defend a city, without authority to make fortifications or to destroy the machinery of war prepared by the enemy' (*De Ecclesia Christi*, n. 88).

The Church's infallibility, then, extends to what W. G. Ward aptly called 'protective truths,' since without them the Deposit of Faith cannot be adequately guarded and preserved; hence, the Church is necessarily infallible with regard to truths which are only virtually revealed, that is to say, with regard to truths which are really deductions from two formally revealed premises: thus, in the syllogism,

The Word was made flesh.
The Word was God.
Therefore God was made flesh.

Since both the major and minor premises are formally contained in St. John's Gospel, the conclusion of the syllogism is a virtually revealed truth, and therefore one which must be guarded as an outpost of the formally revealed premises.

The Church is likewise infallible with regard to what are known as 'theological conclusions,' or truths which are deduced from premises, only one of which is revealed, the other being certain merely by the natural light of reason. Thus, the conclusion of the following syllogism is one which cannot be denied without imperilling the formally revealed major proposition:—

Some revealed doctrines surpass human understanding. (A formally revealed truth.)

But all revealed doctrines are true. (This follows from what mere reason teaches us about God.)

Therefore, some truths surpass human understanding. (Theological conclusion.)

Furthermore, the Church's infallibility extends not merely to the interpretation of Holy Writ, and the regulation of public worship, but, on account of their intimate connection with revealed truth, even to truths of natural science, such as the existence of substance; and to philosophical truths, such as the simplicity and spirituality of the soul; likewise to historical truths as, for instance, the fact that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome, or that Pius XI is true Pope. Again, because of her guardianship of faith and morals, she is infallible in the condemnation of heretical texts, such as the Three Chapters, prescribed in the fifth General Council; she is likewise infallible in inflicting censures of heresy and error. In fine, her divine prerogative of infallible assistance extends to all that is necessary for her to keep that which is committed to her trust (1 Tim. vi. 20).

She is infallible, perennial, immutable and incorruptible, because she is the Spouse of Christ, befittingly adorned for the Bridegroom; because she is the mystical body of Christ, quickened by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit; because she is the barque that was swamped with waves, till Christ commanded both the winds and the sea; because she is the house of which we read in the Gospel, 'and the rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock' (Matt. vii. 25).

VIII.

JURISDICTION.

BY THE REV. L. W. GEDDES, S.J., D.D.

OF the three great offices which the Church exercises—of teaching, of sanctifying, of ruling—the third has this peculiar importance, that it is not merely something which the Church *does*, a power which she, when in being, exercises, it is the fundamental thing which is responsible for her very existence. In every society authority is the bond which unites the members into an organized whole, and which directs and applies their activities to attaining the end for which the society is brought into being; to this authority all the activities of the society must be subjected, and by it regulated. In every such body, then, authority is the first thing; not merely a power exercised, but the determining constituent.

In the Church this determining element is the jurisdiction which we are considering to-day. Christ our Lord actually founded His Church by instituting the elements of a hierarchy of jurisdiction, by dividing the unorganized mass of His followers into an organized body of rulers and ruled. It is worth while to note at the outset that this hierarchy of jurisdiction is not the only hierarchy which Our Lord gave to the Church. There is also the hierarchy of orders, a quite distinct institution, though to a great extent it is the same individuals who constitute both hierarchies, and who hold both the powers, of jurisdiction and of orders. The power of orders is concerned not with rule, but with the external, visible means of sanctification which

Our Lord has entrusted to His Church—Sacraments and Sacrifice. At first sight it might seem that it, rather than the power of ruling, is the first thing in the Church. It is more purely supernatural both in its essence and in its effects. In its essence the sacrament of orders consists in the supernatural 'character' imprinted on the soul, giving its recipient the supernatural power to confer valid sacraments and offer valid sacrifice; its effects are the supernatural wonders of ordination, absolution, Eucharistic consecration. Moreover, the power of orders once conferred is inalienable and irrevocable. No human power can take from the validly consecrated bishop his power to ordain, from the validly ordained priest his power to consecrate the Eucharist. Jurisdiction, on the other hand, does not consist in any definite supernatural entity, but merely in a relation set up between ruler and ruled; it is, moreover, mutable and revocable at the will of men. Even the Pope can resign his dignity. But this does not detract from the pre-eminence of the Church's ruling power. She must be constituted before she can act; it is authority that constitutes her as a society. Only in the society so constituted has the power of orders its lawful place. In so far as it is exercised outside and independently of the Body knit together by this authority, it is outside of the scheme of Christ. There are vast numbers of validly ordained bishops and priests—all those of the schismatic Churches—who have no place in the hierarchy of orders, because they do not subject themselves to the hierarchy of jurisdiction. They may be said to have the power of orders *de facto*, but not *de jure*. Orders by themselves give no jurisdiction. The two things were separately instituted by

Christ, and are conferred separately, and often independently of one another, in the present administration of the Church.

It might perhaps be expected that as the Church exercises a threefold office we should find in her a threefold hierarchy; that, in addition to those of jurisdiction and orders, there would also be a hierarchy of teaching. There is, however, no room for a third hierarchy, as teaching falls within the scope of the Church's jurisdiction; her authoritative teaching is an act of jurisdiction. It is, namely, the office of the Church not merely to offer definite teaching, but to impose it, with the correlative duty incumbent on her children of accepting and submitting to it. So St. Paul speaks of the Apostles as 'bringing into subjection every *intellect*, unto obedience to Jesus Christ.'

Having then considered the position of jurisdiction in the Church's system—that it is the first thing in the Church, in that it makes her what she is; and that to it all activities exercised by the Church must be subject, precisely in order that they may be activities of the Church of Christ—we can now consider more exactly its nature and definition. Jurisdiction is defined as the public power of ruling subjects; a power, that is, which is exercised in the same way as the governing power in a sovereign nation. This involves legislative, judicial, and coercive rights: rights, that is, to make laws which have permanent binding force; to establish tribunals and administer justice; and to punish those who transgress the laws. Power of ruling, short of this, is called dominative power. It is concerned not with great groups that may be compared to nations, but with smaller groups that may be compared to families. Such power is

possessed by such religious superiors as are not possessed of jurisdiction, by many heads of institutions, and, by the law of nature, by the fathers of families. This empowers the holders of it to impose precepts and penalties, but not to make laws that bind in perpetuity, nor to try and judge in true judicial form.

Before dealing with the manner in which the power of jurisdiction works in the Church to-day, it is necessary briefly to consider its origin. This, to be valid, must be divine. As jurisdiction is that which constitutes the Church the Church of Christ, its institution must necessarily be from Christ Himself. Nor is there any difficulty in showing that it is so; and that, moreover, the Apostles, trained and appointed by Him, had no doubt of His intentions in this matter.

On the one hand the Church is envisaged as a nation—the Kingdom of God or Kingdom of Heaven, in the words of Our Lord, the new Israel of God in those of St. Paul, a holy nation and a purchased people in those of St. Peter—and, on the other hand, unlimited power of rule in it is promised and instituted by Our Lord. This power, as in a nation, can clearly be nothing less than true jurisdiction. We have it first in the promise to St. Peter in Matt. xvi: 'Thou art the Rock, and on this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not war it down.

'And to thee I will give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

'And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in Heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed also in Heaven.'

This is not the occasion to treat at length of the Petrine texts, but we can note briefly that here in three

separate metaphors Our Lord promised to Peter universal jurisdiction.

First, the Church is compared to a building of which he is to be the foundation-rock. There is here an obvious reference to Our Lord's own words in Matt. vii of the wise man who built his house upon a rock: 'And the rain fell and the floods came and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock.' He is to do to the Church what the foundation-rock does to the building—guarantee its unity and stability. And He is to do this effectively: in such a way that no forces of disruption from within nor assaults of enemies from without shall ever be able to cause its downfall. 'The gates of hell shall not war it down.'¹ The only way in which one man can be so responsible for the existence and unity of a society is by having complete authority over it. He cannot effectively provide for those who are independent of him.

The second metaphor, that of the keys, is no less clear in its application. Our Lord may be considered as handing over to Peter either the keys of His house in testimony of His stewardship and authority, while He, the Master, is absent, or the keys of His city-state. So when Mary, Queen of Scots, first came to her kingdom, the keys of Edinburgh were delivered to her at her entrance to the city, in sign of her royal authority over the capital of the kingdom. Whatever be its origin, the figure of the keys was a recognized symbol of rule among the Jews.

¹ Hell ($\gamma\eta\iota\varsigma$ =Hades) does not signify the place of punishment, but the abode of the dead. The Gates of Hades was a recognised Hebrew expression for Death, regarded as a hostile power. The promise signifies that the life of the Church is indefectible.

Lastly, there is the metaphor of binding and loosing. We all know what it is to be 'bound' to do a thing; it is to be under an obligation to do it. Peter can impose what bonds, what obligations, he will. 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven'—in the sight of God. He has too, mercifully, a similarly universal power of dispensing from positive law: 'Whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth shall be loosed also in heaven.'

The power so promised was actually conferred when Peter was appointed shepherd of the whole flock of Christ. 'Shepherds of men' was an ancient and recognized title of kings. The word *ποιμαίνειν*, 'to shepherd,' is frequently used in the Greek version of the Old Testament to signify royal sway; it is the word used by St. John in the Apocalypse of the man-child who should 'rule all nations with a rod of iron.' Its use by Our Lord in John xxi. 17, 'Shepherd My sheep,' leaves no room for doubt as to the nature of the commission conferred.

To the Apostolic College as a whole Our Lord granted also a similar plenitude of jurisdiction. It may be noted that in the Apostolic College the Head is an essential element. Without Peter the College is not constituted. So powers promised and granted by Our Lord to the College as a whole are not operative except in so far as the head is associated with their action. That does not mean that the members of that College merely have a share in Peter's prerogatives. They are legislators and judges in their own right. But they do not act validly as a body except with their head at least consenting to their action.

The promise of jurisdiction is contained in Matt. xviii.:

'If thy brother shall offend against thee, go, and rebuke him between him and thee alone. . . . If he will not hear thee, take with thee one or two more . . . ; and if he will not hear them, tell the Church; and if he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the heathen and the publican. Amen, I say to you, whatsoever you shall bind on earth shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever you shall loose upon earth shall be loosed also in heaven.' This promise had its fulfilment when Our Lord commissioned the Apostolic College with the words, 'As the Father sent Me, I also send you.' As I am in the world with plenary and universal power as the legate of My Father, so I also send you into the world as My legates, equipped with My universal authority. 'He that heareth you, heareth Me.'

The commission is to be interpreted in the light of the promise, and this we will consider. In it are clearly indicated the three departments of jurisdiction. First, there is legislative power in its fulness. 'Whatsoever you shall bind on earth. . .' The only moral bonds that can be imposed on a whole nation are laws. The Apostolic College, therefore, has the power of making universal laws; and these laws oblige in conscience—'shall be bound also in heaven.' Moreover, the best commentary on Our Lord's words is provided by the action of the Apostles themselves. In Acts xv. 28-9 we read: 'It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us to lay no further burden on you than these necessary things; that you abstain from things sacrificed to idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication.' In virtue of their divinely bestowed power the Apostles impose a definite obligation. It is not a mere declaration: it is clear there is no divine law

forbidding things suffocated, and blood, or even things previously sacrificed to idols (cf. 1 Cor. x. 25-29). Similarly in 1 Tim. iii. we find St. Paul legislating about the proper sort of person to be raised to the episcopal office; nor are there wanting other examples of legislation in St. Paul's epistles.

Judicial power—the authority exercised by judges—is also involved in this general power of binding and loosing. Judicial sentences have a place among recognized moral bonds. These, then, if imposed by the Apostles in virtue of their general power, will be valid. The preceding words are still more explicit. If the 'erring brother' is obstinate, the complainants are to 'tell the Church.' This can only be in order that a judicial sentence may be pronounced against the offender with the full authority of the Church. In fact it is the question of how the particular case of the erring brother is to be judicially decided that is the occasion of Our Lord's promise of the general power.

Nor are there wanting in Apostolic practice examples of the use of this judiciary power. Peter, as judge, condemns the sin of Ananias and Sapphira, and at the same time as prophet announces the punishment of God upon it (Acts v. 1-11). St. Paul, again, in 1 Cor. v judges and sentences the incestuous man. 'I indeed, absent in body but present in spirit, have already judged as though I were present him that hath so done in the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, you being gathered together and my spirit, with the power of Our Lord Jesus Christ: to deliver such a one to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of Our Lord Jesus Christ.' The same power is referred to in 1 Tim. v. 19: 'Against a presbyter do

not accept an accusation except under two or three witnesses.' Even presbyters can be accused and tried.

Lastly, there is the coercive power: the power, that is, of enforcing decrees and judgments by penalties. The foundation for this is found in the passage of St. Matthew, already referred to. 'If he will not hear the Church, let him be to you as the heathen and the publican,' *i.e.*, inflict on the contumacious the punishment of excommunication. But its existence in the Church follows immediately from the existence of the other two branches of jurisdiction. If the pastors of the Church are empowered to lay any moral bond whatsoever upon the faithful, with a view to the spiritual end of the Church, they can oblige them to accept a penalty which will be salutary for the delinquents and a deterrent for others. There can be no doubt about the mind of St. Paul upon this subject, when he asks (1 Cor. iv. 21): 'What will you? Shall I come to you with a rod; or in charity and meekness?'

Ordinarily indeed the penalties inflicted by the Church are spiritual ones—deprivation in greater or less degree of the rights and privileges which the children of the Church and her ministers enjoy—but there is nothing in the nature of things or in the commission of Our Lord which would limit her power to these. Indeed the Church explicitly asserts her right to inflict also temporal pains and penalties. Thus Canon 2214 of the Code reads, 'It is the nature and proper right of the Church, independently of any human authority, to coerce delinquents subject to her both by spiritual and by temporal penalties.' Men are not pure spirits, and it may well be that the lazy and the contumacious will be

more helped by temporal than by spiritual penalties to see the error of their ways and to correct them.

These three departments—legislative, judicial, and coercive—may be said to constitute the *form* of the Church's jurisdiction. The *matter* about which it is exercised comprises teaching, government and administration. Concerning teaching there are certain things to be noticed. In the first place every act of teaching—for instance, an ordinary sermon or instruction—is not an act of jurisdiction. On the other hand, all teaching done in the Church is subject to her jurisdiction, and her teaching in general is imposed in virtue of her jurisdiction. Again, the jurisdiction is not necessarily the formal motive for submission. When what is proposed for belief belongs to divine revelation, the motive for believing it is the authority of God, the supreme truth, attesting it. This demands direct submission to God by the act of faith. Where, however, what is taught does not belong to the deposit of faith, but is asserted with the full authority of the infallible Church—as in the case of truths connected with the deposit of faith, such as certain dogmatic facts and theological conclusions—the duty of submitting to the supreme teaching authority involves the obligation of true internal assent. Even when doctrinal decrees do not proceed from infallible authority—those, for instance, of the Holy Father teaching not *ex cathedra*, or those of the Sacred Roman Congregations—still such decrees must be accepted with that internal respect which obedience demands. It is not for the private individual to accept or reject such pronouncements according as they fit in or not with his preconceived notions. A discussion, however, of the sort of assent that they demand would

take us beyond the limits that belong to the question of jurisdiction.

All that need be said concerning government and administration is that the extent of the Church's power is determined by her end—the sanctification and salvation of men. That can be furthered not merely by purely spiritual means, but things temporal and material can also have their influence. So that her legislative power, for instance, covers not merely such purely spiritual matters as preaching, divine worship, and the sacraments; it also provides for administration of finances, control of buildings, the Catholic schools, and all that concerns the matrimonial contract. On the other hand, the Church's power does not extend to matters that have no bearing at all on her spiritual end. She cannot legislate for matters that are purely secular in all their bearing.

Such, then, is the ruling power instituted by Christ. And as it is the determining element in the Church, her limits are coterminous with the extent of her jurisdiction. On the one hand, those are visibly and externally her members who acknowledge her jurisdiction; on the other, all who are, even unconsciously, her members, are subject to it. The Church, therefore, claims jurisdiction over all who are baptized; for all these, and no others, are her members. Mortal sin clearly does not put a person outside the Church, nor even does excommunication, for she regards excommunicates as still subject to her authority and bound by her laws.¹ She

¹ Cf. The Code of Canon Law, can. 87: 'By baptism a man is constituted a person in the Church of Christ with all the rights and duties of Christians, unless, in so far as concerns rights, there be an obstacle (*obex*) hindering the bond of ecclesiastical communion, or a censure imposed by the Church.'

does not, however, urge all her legislation against those who, though her children, do not recognize her authority; those, that is, who, though validly baptized, profess adherence to other religious bodies. In general she is said, with regard to them, to urge legislation which concerns the public good, but not that which concerns private good; but in so far as she does urge it, her legislation is valid. Thus certain impediments to marriage which are of ecclesiastical institution render null marriages affected by them, even though the parties be non-Catholics. There is no such thing as successful rebellion against the Church; rebellion, that is, which effectively withdraws from her authority any who have once become subject to her by baptism.

Father Vidal thus comments on the canon: 'The foundation of personality in the Church is the *indelible character* which every valid baptism produces, though it may happen that it does not produce grace on account of some obstacle existing in the recipient. The baptismal character is, however, an ontological consecration of a man, so that he is a member of the Body and a citizen of the kingdom of Jesus Christ (*ontologica consecratio hominis in membrum corporis et in civem regni Jesu Christi*), which is the Church; all, therefore, who have received the baptismal character in valid baptism are for ever bound to the Church and subject to her power; even heretics and schismatics, both those who have been baptized in a heretical or schismatical sect and those who have afterwards lapsed to such a sect, in virtue of the character belong not to that sect but only to the Catholic Church' (Wernz-Vidal, *Jus Canonicum*, Vol. II, p. 2).

Those who belong to a heretical or schismatical sect have done what in them lies to cut themselves off from the Church. They have deprived themselves of the communion of the faithful, and have lost most of the rights that belong to members of the Church. Their membership is attenuated in its effects: as regards their rights there is the *obex* of which canon 87 speaks. But they cannot destroy the ontological bond attaching them to the Church, consisting in the baptismal character. It must be noted, however, that it is not in virtue of their heretical sect that they belong to the Church, but in spite of it. The sect, as such, forms no part of the Church.

Similarly those who are excommunicated are 'excluded from the communion of the faithful' (canon 2257) and deprived of

The last important section of the subject to be considered deals with the question, who are the holders of jurisdiction in the Church? These are, by divine institution, the Sovereign Pontiff and the bishops; by ecclesiastical institution, the vicars of these and also parish priests and superiors in exempt religious orders of clerics.

While in the hierarchy of orders the Sovereign Pontiff holds only an equal place with other bishops, in the hierarchy of jurisdiction his is a unique position. The Church is a monarchic state. In the holder of the Papal office Peter lives on. He speaks through Pius to-day as, in the words of the fourth Oecumenical Council, Peter spoke through Leo in 451. The Sovereign Pontiff, then, holds the primacy of jurisdiction in the

other rights in varying degrees according to the nature of their excommunication; but the ontological bond remains: cf. 2 Thes. iii. 15: 'If any man obey not our word in this epistle . . . do not keep company with him. . . . Yet do not esteem him as an enemy but admonish him as a brother.' He is to be excommunicated—'excluded from the communion of the faithful'—but he remains a brother.

The question of Church membership is well treated in *Is Schism Lawful*, by the Rev. Edward Maguire, chap. IX.

There are still writers who defend the opinion, much commoner before the Code, that those who profess adherence to heretical or schismatical sects, and also those who are solemnly excommunicated, are not members of the Church. But in this theory there does not seem to be any satisfactory explanation of the fact that the Church, by claiming jurisdiction over them and demanding obedience from them, thereby acknowledges them as being in a real sense within her pale. Father Suarez, who concedes that schismatics and excommunicates are members of the Church, but denies that heretics are, says that the latter are subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, 'because they have done injury to the Church' (*De Fide*, D. ix, Sect. ii. n. 22). This does not seem to go to the root of the matter: others have done injury to the Church and have not thereby become her subjects: and moreover she has always made the mere fact of the possession of the baptismal character the touchstone of subjection to her jurisdiction.

Church; that is to say, he enjoys supreme, universal, and immediate jurisdiction over the whole Church and every member of it. He obtains this universal jurisdiction as soon as he accepts his legitimate election. It is not conferred by the Cardinals who elect him; it is given immediately by God. It is, as was said, universal. In virtue of his primacy he is the supreme and infallible teacher, the supreme legislator, the supreme judge. As he owns no superior and is the superior of all, he can abrogate, suspend, or alter all laws of his predecessors or of General Councils, and grant what privileges and dispensations he will in all ecclesiastical laws, whether universal or local. He can reserve for his own tribunal any classes of ecclesiastical suits; he can receive and decide appeals from any member and against any member of the Church.

The jurisdiction of the Sovereign Pontiff over the faithful is not only universal; it is also immediate. This means that Papal decrees and decisions bind the faithful from the moment they are promulgated. No authority, ecclesiastical or secular, can prevent them from becoming operative by withholding their official publication, unless, indeed, the Sovereign Pontiff himself recognizes and permits such a limitation. This happened, for instance, as regards the suppression of the Society of Jesus. The Empress of White Russia refused to promulgate the Brief of Suppression, and this refusal was accepted by the Sovereign Pontiff, with the result that the Society, though suppressed elsewhere, lived on in the dominion of Empress Catherine until it was restored by the Holy Father throughout the Church.

In actual administration he is aided by the various Sacred Congregations of Cardinals. They are the Vicars

of the Holy Father, and by virtue of this vicarious jurisdiction can give authoritative decisions on matters that fall within their competence. Originally the Cardinals were the Bishops of the Sees immediately round Rome, and the priests and deacons of the Roman Church. As such they formed the Council of the Church of Rome, and as such they now elect the Bishop of that See, who thereby becomes the Vicar of Christ.

Oecumenical Councils likewise have plenitude of jurisdiction, *i.e.*, universal authority in teaching, legislating, judging. They are the Apostolic College acting as a whole. But a General Council to be valid must be convoked by the Sovereign Pontiff;¹ he must preside in person or by his representative; and the decrees must be confirmed by him; all this because in the Apostolic College the Head is an essential part, so that the College cannot be said to be present if the Head is completely absent, nor to act if the Head dissociates himself from the action of the others. Moreover, the Pope is the Superior of a General Council, so that he can prorogue or dissolve it, alter the scene of its sittings, lay down what it is to discuss. Nay, he can even instruct it as to the decisions it is to give. This has rarely happened, but well-known examples of it are, in the realm of doctrine, the *Tome* of Leo sent to the Council of Chalcedon, and the dogmatic epistle of Agatho directing the Third Council of Constantinople; in that of judicature, the deposition of Nestorius and Dioscorus by Celestine and Leo.

The Bishops, then, united, form the Apostolic College; and to them, as a body, belongs the jurisdiction which

¹ *i.e.*, the 'formal' convocation must be made by him. This 'formal' convocation may be merely the subsequent approval of a 'material' convocation made by a temporal sovereign.

Christ made the prerogative of that College. In their individual capacity also they are successors of the Apostles, and as such enjoy true jurisdiction within the limits assigned to them, *i.e.*, within their own territory, and to a certain extent over their own subjects even outside the territorial limits of the diocese.

As regards their legislative power they can make statutes that bind in perpetuity; and can dispense from the observance both of their own statutes and of those of their predecessors. They obviously cannot make statutes which run counter to those of the universal Church, though they have considerable powers of dispensation in matters of the common law.

The Bishop also is judge in his own diocese. As such he is the source of jurisdiction for the Sacrament of Penance and has power of reserving sins—of withholding jurisdiction to absolve them from ordinary confessors; also in the external administration of justice the Bishop's court is the court of first instance, and tries both spiritual cases, such as cases of suspicion of heresy, and doubts regarding the validity of marriages, and also certain temporal cases; for instance, cases that arise out of the administration of ecclesiastical property. To the Bishop also belongs the power of inflicting penalties on delinquents and recalcitrants.

The matter in which he exercises his jurisdiction embraces not only government and administration, but also teaching. The Bishop in his own diocese is the authoritative teacher. This office he exercises not merely by his own preaching and pastoral letters, but also by controlling the preaching of his clergy, by directing the teaching in schools and seminaries, and by censorship and prohibition of books.

Before considering the position of other holders of jurisdiction in the Church, it will be well to consider the two spheres of action in which jurisdiction operates. These are called the 'external forum' and the 'internal forum.' Briefly, the external forum looks to the public good, and is concerned with the actions of the faithful which render them innocent or guilty in the sight of the Church; the internal forum looks primarily to the private good of the individual, and is concerned with his actions as they are in the sight of God.

Jurisdiction in the external forum is exercised publicly: it has its juridical and social effects. The great bulk of the Canon Law is concerned with this sort of jurisdiction; most of the Sacred Roman Congregations deal with individual branches of it.

Jurisdiction in the internal forum is exercised privately, and, in general, secretly; nor has it any public and juridical effects. To this forum belong dispensations in so far as they are merely matters of conscience, absolution as a general thing from censures and penalties that have been incurred for sins committed, and, most important of all, sacramental absolution. For the Sacrament of Penance the power of orders is not sufficient. It is a tribunal of judgment, and the words of Christ, 'Whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; whose sins you shall retain, they are retained,' constitute the minister a judge, with the duty of deciding which verdict is to be pronounced. Consequently the very essence of the Sacrament as an act of judgment requires that besides the power of orders the minister should also have juridical jurisdiction, otherwise his verdict, and so the Sacrament itself, would be invalid. At the same time, it is to be noticed that jurisdiction in the

internal forum is not confined to the Sacrament of Penance, though, as a matter of fact, it is generally exercised in the act of confession.

Parish priests, then, have ordinary jurisdiction; jurisdiction, that is, in virtue of their office, but only in the internal forum. This jurisdiction of theirs is not of divine institution, like that of Pope, General Councils, and Bishops, but comes from the grant of the Church. So, in virtue of their appointment, they have jurisdiction to hear the confessions of their parishioners, even outside the territorial limits of the parish; they can grant dispensations regarding the observance of Sunday and the days of fasting and abstinence; and they can, in urgent cases—when the Bishop cannot be applied to in time—even grant dispensations from many of the impediments of marriage. They can delegate all this jurisdiction, excepting only faculties to hear confessions. Moreover, they have certain rights and duties that are akin rather to dominative power than to jurisdiction: for instance, the care of the temporal affairs of the parish, rights concerning the Sacraments of Baptism, Holy Viaticum, Extreme Unction, and Marriage; the duty of preaching the Word of God to their parishioners, and the duty of examining candidates for matrimony with a view to making sure that they are bound by no impediment. They have, however, none of the legislative, judicial, and strictly penal rights which constitute jurisdiction in the external forum,

Lastly, the Superiors of exempt clerical religious orders have jurisdiction both in the internal and in the external forum. This means that they have much the same power over their subjects that Bishops have over their flocks. Other religious Superiors, as was

stated above, have dominative power; by the Church's legislation the clerical state is a necessary condition for the holding of jurisdiction. These other Superiors, therefore, for instance Superiors of all congregations of women, can impose valid precepts and urge the observance of the Constitutions, but they cannot make perpetual laws, grant jurisdiction for confessions, nor dispense from the laws of the Church.

This, then, is an outline of the theory and practice of jurisdiction as it exists in the Church. It is sometimes objected that in the highly legalized system of to-day it is impossible to recognize the Church of Christ as it was in its simple beginnings in Galilee. But, as we have seen, it is in its essence the very system, the creation of which by Christ Our Lord gave the Church existence. The 'little flock' has grown into a mighty nation; the mantle of the Twelve rests upon the shoulders of the multitude of Bishops, well-nigh two thousand, who rule the Church to-day. The system has necessarily grown with the Church's growth. But the development that has come about is growth, not change. The organization remains, to use Cardinal Newman's test of true development, true to type. And to-day it is neither more nor less true than in Apostolic times, that it is adhesion and submission to the jurisdiction founded by Christ, and not either truth of doctrine or validity of orders, that is the touchstone of visible membership of the Church of Christ.

IX.

THE DONATIST SCHISM AND HOW IT WAS MET BY ST. AUGUSTINE.

BY THE REV. HUGH POPE, O.P., S.T.M., DOCT. S. SCRIPT.

HAD you asked a prominent Donatist about the year 380 A.D. to explain briefly how it was that he was not in communion with 'the Church overseas,' with the universal Church in Europe or Asia, how it was that in nearly every city,¹ however small, of Northern Africa, there dwelled side by side two bishops, one claiming to represent the 'Catholic' Church, the other that of 'the party of Donatus,'² he would have answered that the state of affairs was indeed deplorable but inevitable. For, he would explain, that party which arrogantly claims to be 'the Catholic' Church, unfortunately took a wrong turning in the year 311, when they elected Cæcilian as bishop of Carthage, and we of 'the party of Donatus' felt bound to separate from them.

By way of explanation he would say that during the Diocletian persecution, A.D. 303-305, many Christians betrayed their trust by surrendering to the persecutors copies of the Bible as well as the sacred vessels, and that Cæcilian, if not his predecessor in the See, Mensurius, had been guilty of this crime; in other words, was a

¹ From the details furnished by the great Conference of A.D. 411 it would seem that there were in Northern Africa at least 300 Sees with two bishops, one a Catholic and the other a Donatist, in possession at the same time; but see below, p. 225.

² The Donatists seem to have gloried in the appellation 'pars Donati,' cf. *Sermo* xlv. 39, *Contra Cresconium*, ii. 1-2.

Traditor.¹ We, 'the party of Donatus,' he would add, 'protested vehemently against this betrayal of trust, but as protests proved of no avail, we reluctantly took the decided step of electing as Archbishop of Carthage a servant of God called Majorinus, to whom succeeded very shortly our father Donatus. Since then the so-called "Catholic" party has dwindled away; we are rightly in possession of their Sees and churches,² for, after all, we are "holy,"³ we have never been contaminated by apostasy during persecution, and consequently we alone can validly administer Sacraments⁴ or teach truly sound doctrine. We are God-fearing people, as you see by our rallying-cry *Deo laudes*,⁵ and by the inscriptions over our church-doors;⁶ we are essentially and truly 'holy'; if you come to us we can give you the only satisfactory Baptism as well as absolutely sound and uncontaminated teaching.'

This is no exaggerated presentation of the Donatist claims, as all readers of St. Optatus and St. Augustine will acknowledge. Yet never was there a less well-founded claim, never had a sect a more criminal history

¹ They actually maintained that not only Mensurius and Cæcilian but even Pope Marcellus were 'Traditores,' or men who in the stress of persecution had surrendered copies of the Scriptures, *Contra Litt. Petiliani*, ii. 202.

² These they had got through an appeal to Julian the Apostate, *Ep.* cv. 9: *Petilian*, ii. 203, 224.

³ 'Quod volumus sanctum est' was a Donatist maxim exploited even by Tyconius, *Ep.* xciii. 14, 43, cf. *Petil*, iii. 26.

⁴ Hence the Donatists re-baptized all and sundry who came over to them.

⁵ *Contra. Litt. Petiliani*, ii. 146, 186.

⁶ For example, 'Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos,' or over the remains of a church near Tebessa, 'Sanctorum sedes, domus Domini, qui pure petita accipit,' similarly at Cirta or Constantine, 'Justus sibi lex est,' cf. Monceaux, *L'Afrique Chretienne*, iv. pp. 453, 455.

behind it. The marvel is that they were able to ride rough-shod over the Catholic Church for just one hundred years.

The facts need only be summarily set forth here. Just when the Diocletian persecution ceased in A.D. 305, the See of Cirta, the modern Constantine, familiar to travellers now as the chief junction on the railway, fell vacant. Cirta lay in Numidia, and a small number of Numidian bishops simoniacally elected a certain Sylvanus as bishop of the See.¹ Sylvanus was notoriously a *Traditor*, as also were all his electors; indeed, one of them, Purpureus of Limata, made no bones about acknowledging at the meeting that he had murdered his nephews, and, he added grimly, was quite prepared to do the same again if need be!² Six years later, in 311, Mensurius, the saintly Archbishop of Carthage, died, and without waiting for the questionable bishops from Numidia, the clergy of Carthage elected the Archdeacon Cæcilian as his successor.³ This provoked the wrath of a certain Lucilla, always spoken of both by St. Optatus and St. Augustine as *opulentissima et nequissima femina*.⁴ She nourished a grudge against the Archdeacon, and when the Numidian bishops arrived and found they were too late for the election, she prevailed upon them 'for a consideration'⁵ to conse-

¹ For detailed accounts of this see *Ep.* xliii. 4, liii. 24, *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 30, *Contra Gaudentium*, i. 47, etc.

² *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 30.

³ For the story of this council cf. *Ep.* xliii, lxxxviii. 1, xciii. 13, cxli, 6, etc. ⁴ *De Unitate*, 46, 73.

⁵ *Ibid.* The bribe, 400 'folles,' must have been an insignificant one, for the *folles* was a large thin copper coin introduced under Diocletian, A.D. 295-6. It has been found in England, cf. *British Museum Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain*, p. 72; see, too, *Patrol. Latina*, VIII. 118, note.

crate her servant, Majorinus, as Archbishop of Carthage. This was the origin of the Donatist schism which was to be the curse of Africa for many years to come.

Constantine did his best to suppress it by convoking a meeting, first at Rome in 312, when Cæcilian, whom the Donatist, had accused of being a *Traditor*, and thus an unworthy occupant of the See, was unanimously acquitted of the charge, while Donatus himself was blamed for having fomented a schism at Carthage somewhat earlier. The Donatists appealed, and the case was heard again at a Council especially convened at Arles in 314, when once more Cæcilian was acquitted.¹ A further appeal met with the same result in a trial before Constantine at Milan,² as also did an investigation held in Africa itself.³ Some little time later Constantius ordered all the Donatists—already pretty numerous—to go into exile.⁴ It was only the advent of Julian the Apostate which secured them their liberty, and this as the result of a direct appeal by them to the civil power.⁵ Julian naturally felt that he had in these schismatics a tool ready to his hand in his self-imposed task of destroying the Catholic Church.

From this time on the Donatists were paramount in Northern Africa, and it was not till 411 that their influence began to decline. It would take us beyond our

¹ *Ep.* xliii. 20; cv. 7, cf. Labriolle, *Latin Christianity*, p. 237. The Council was held on Aug. 1, 314, see Turner in *J.T.S.*, April, 1926, p. 283. It is of interest to us in England, as bishops from Britain were present.

² *P.L.* VIII, 489. ³ Optatus, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, I.

⁴ *Tract. post Collationem* (411), 56; *Breviculus Collationis*, iii. 40; *Ep.* cxli. 9.

⁵ *Ep.* xciii. 12; cv. 9; *Contra Parmen.* i. 19; *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 202, 205, 224.

limits were we to attempt to discuss here the exceedingly interesting question as to how they attained their predominant position. The fact that their 'party' was a national one may have had a good deal to do with it.¹ What we are concerned with now is the way in which this influential schism, backed as it was by the secular power, in full possession of the ancient Catholic churches and properties, and already a long-established institution in the eyes of men who had been born in it and had known no other, was finally extirpated by the Catholic Church, and how St. Optatus, and more especially St. Augustine, set to work to bring about this happy result.

St. Optatus was bishop of Milevis, and wrote his treatise against the Donatists between the years 372 and 375. This was the first blow to the prestige of the 'party.' And it was a shrewd one. For Optatus did two things: he minted certain expressions such as '*Orbis terrarum*' for the Universal Church,² and these Augustine was a few years later to make classical in controversy. But, secondly, and of far greater importance, was his careful formation of what Mgr. Duchesne has well called '*Le dossier du Donatisme*,'³ or collection of the most important documents bearing on the origins of the schism. To the collection thus formed many additions were made as time went on, and Augustine in all his anti-Donatist writings refers to these

¹ This is very doubtful; see Monceaux, *L'Afrique Chrétienne*, IV, 190.

² E.g., *De Schismate Donatistarum*, i. 26, ii. 1, etc.

³ *Le Dossier du Donatisme*, 1890, an acute defence of the genuine character of the documents in question against the attacks of Seeck.

See *Ep.* lxxxviii. 1; Labriolle, *Latin Christianity*, p. 131.

irrefragable witnesses to the true series of events which had led to the then divided state of Christian Africa.¹

On his conversion Augustine naturally occupied himself with the Manichees whose fold he had left. But the moment he had had some pastoral experience he realized that the true enemy was within the Christian fold, and that a schism might in some respects be far more dangerous than a heresy. His first step was to compose his *Psalm against the Donatist party*,² for he felt that the Catholics who had to mingle with these schismatics in the ordinary course of life, and who had been accustomed to taking a very secondary place, as well as putting up with periodic brutalities at the hands of the Donatists, must have at their finger-tips the salient points in the controversy. This *Psalm*, then, they had to learn by heart. It was a species of catechism of the controversy.

But his next step was far more important. He saw that merely to keep on preaching against them and exposing the errors of their writings was not the best weapon of attack. After all, the Donatists were in possession. Why should they trouble about what this new bishop, himself only just emancipated from heresy, said about them? Was there any reason to suppose they would even read what he wrote? And even

¹ E.g., *De Unitate*, 46-7, 50; *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 20, iii. 71, etc. It is of interest to note the various *Gesta* to which constant reference is made, and to which access was easy, *Ep.* lxxxix. 2; xciii. 12. They are *gesta Episcopalia*, *Ep.* cxli. 7, *forensica*, *Ep.* cviii. 14, *Proconsularia*, *Ep.* xliii. 4, *publica*, *ibid.*, *municipalia*, *Ep.* lxxxviii. 6, *Ecclesiastica*, *Ep.* xliii. 3-6. These furnish us with some idea of the minute care with which the Roman authorities worked.

² Written after the Council held at Hippo in 393.

if the leaders did so, they would certainly be shrewd enough to prevent their flocks from getting acquainted with any damaging things the bishop of Hippo might say. The only thing to do then was to get into immediate contact with the Donatist leaders themselves. The then Donatist Bishop of Hippo was an old man, Procleianus. To him Augustine wrote proposing a conference. 'You can readily understand,' he wrote, 'what it is that I honour in you unhesitatingly. For while I cannot honour a man for his schismatical state, from which as far as in me lies I try to deliver as many as possible, yet I deem you worthy of honour, firstly, because we have the common bond of human fellowship; secondly, because I fancy I can discern in you indications of a serene mind, and this latter makes me feel that you may perhaps welcome the truth if put clearly before you.'¹

Procleianus shirked the meeting, as also did Crispinus of Calama, reputed a pillar of the sect, though really a scoundrel. In fact, the Donatist bishops generally declined even to answer Augustine's letters. Fortunius of Tubursicum, however, agreed to a conference, which is described by Augustine with some very amusing touches. Unfortunately, the news of what was forward brought a mob to the spot. 'In all that crowd,' says Augustine, 'there were very few who wanted the case thoroughly and practically discussed . . . the majority had thronged thither as though to a theatre . . . they had not come for instruction in the doctrine of salvation nor in a spirit of Christian piety.' Though, at Augustine's request, it was agreed that notaries should take a full report, these latter, for some reason, declined to act. The discussion

¹ *Ep.* xxxiii.

lasted some hours; and though Augustine's companions undertook to take a report, the confusion grew so bad that they had to relinquish the effort.

Fortunius opened with complimentary remarks about Augustine's personal life, but the latter cut him short by asking which was the Church in which one ought to live such a life—the Church of the *Orbis terrarum* or that of a few Africans in Africa? To Fortunius' statement that he himself was in communion with the universal Church, Augustine replied by asking him for commendatory letters to other Churches in communion with the *Orbis terrarum*. This Fortunius evaded by quoting the words 'Beware of false brethren!' to which Augustine retorted that he might equally well say the same to Fortunius. He also asked how he could justify separation 'from the rest of the Christian body which safeguarded the succession throughout the *Orbis terrarum*, and in which the oldest Sees of all were in entire ignorance concerning the identity of *Traditores* in Africa.' Fortunius gave the stereotyped Donatist answer, that the Church of the *Orbis terrarum* was innocent until she became a persecutor. He then produced, what purported to be the *Acts* of the Council of Sardica, and read out the name of Donatus as one of the signatories. Augustine was somewhat taken aback by this, and could only urge that as there were many of the same name, Donatus, it would have to be proved that the Donatus here mentioned was one with their quondam leader. But Alypius whispered to him that the Arians had tried to enlist the Donatists on their side. Augustine thereupon turned the pages and discovered that these alleged *Acts* of Sardica condemned not only St. Athanasius but the reigning Pope Julius as well!

In fact the *Acts* were those of the Arian Council of Philippopolis—a counterblast to that of Sardica. Fortunius would not permit Augustine to take the volume home for perusal nor even allow him to take notes from it.

The discussion then veered round to the question of the possibility of bad people being in the Church, and Augustine instanced the case of Judas at the Last Supper; 'nearly all present, he adds, 'were much impressed with this parallel.' After further discussion they all stood up to depart, and their time seemed wasted. But Augustine says that though Fortunius insisted that re-baptism for those who entered the Donatist fold was the rule, he plainly showed that he regretted it, and that he longed for peace. Before parting it was agreed that ten on either side should meet and discuss the whole question. Fortunius seems to have been overwhelmed by Augustine's personal charm: 'You,' he said, 'are the only one who really wants such discussion; the other Catholics do not desire it.' The next day he came over to the Church where Augustine was holding an ordination, but the moment was inopportune as all were busily engaged with the consecration of a new bishop.

But Augustine was immensely impressed with this scene, and more convinced than ever of the real value of such conferences. He begs the three Donatist laymen to whom he is writing to do all they can to forward the proposed meeting: 'As far as I can see,' he says, 'you will not readily find among your bishops a mind and will so prompt as I discover in that old man . . . but we must at all costs avoid the assemblage of a turbulent crowd which would be a hindrance rather than a

help . . . we ought to meet in some place where neither party has a church.¹

Whether Fortunius deliberately tried to palm off on Augustine the spurious *Acts* of Sardica, we cannot tell. But there is no doubt that as time went on and the influence of Augustine grew, the Donatists resorted to very unworthy expedients. Indeed, some of the shifts to which they resorted in their extremity were pathetic. They felt particularly hit by their patent lack of 'Catholicity.'² For it was evident, as Optatus had told them, and Augustine kept repeating it till Africa must have been weary of hearing it, that they were after all only a national church, a 'corner of Africa.'³ Not only were they not the *Orbis terrarum*, but the latter ignored them.⁴ 'Catholic,' then, they had to be by hook or by crook; so they founded a church in Rome itself,⁵ and even claimed to have a succession of bishops there! They then established a church in Spain,⁶ though no one seems to have known much about it. The next thing to do was to give a fictitious meaning to the title 'Catholic,' and then claim catholicity on the strength of it. This they did repeatedly,⁷ but no one more densely than Gaudentius at the great Conference in A.D. 411: 'They fancy,' he shouted, 'that the name 'Catholic' refers to districts or peoples, whereas 'Catholic' means

¹ *Ep.* xliv.

² They could never answer Augustine's insistence on the fact that the *Orbis terrarum* or Universal or 'Catholic' Church knew them not. See *Contra Cresconium* ii. 42; iii. 36, 77; iv. 71, etc.

³ *Enarr. in Ps.* xxi. 26; *Brevic. Collationis*, xviii (35).

⁴ Optatus, *l.c.* II; *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 247; *De Unitate*, 3; *Haer.* 69; *Ep.* liii. 2. ⁵ *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 247. ⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Cf. *Contra Parmenianum*, ii. 28; *Tract.* cxviii. 4 in *Joann.*; *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 80-91; *De Unitate*, 2.

what is filled with the Sacraments, what is holy and undefiled: it has no reference to peoples. Let him show that all peoples are in communion with him, then will he be wholly "Catholic"?¹ No better answer to this can be found than Augustine's pithy words at an earlier period: 'Whatsoever marvels take place in the Catholic Church are to be received with approval because they take place in the Catholic Church; she is not thereby proved to be "Catholic" because such things happen in her.'²

Another feature which weighed heavily on this schismatic body was its sterility. Their Primates were none of them really men of mark, though, following in the footsteps of the great Donatus, they affected an aloofness from their own people which would have been amusing in other circumstances.³ They produced one great man, Tyconius, but he became what we should now term a 'Modernist,' and his party disowned him.⁴

But the fatal symptom, the inevitable curse on all schisms, soon appeared: they began to split up, and each party as it developed anathematized the parent stock from which it had sprung, and claimed, as was only to be expected, a monopoly of the distinctive feature of the original schism—exclusive 'sanctity.' The Claudianists⁵ and the Rogatists⁶ were at first the chief dissentients. But a far more fatal split took place when the Maximianists came on the scene. This was a real schism. For its upholders maintained that

¹ *Gesta Collationis*, III.

² *De Unitate*, 50.

³ *Optatus*, iii. 3.

⁴ *Ep.* cxli. 2; *Contra Parmen.* i. 1.

⁵ *Optatus*, ii. 4; *Enarr. on Ps.* xxxvi. 20; *Contra Cresconium*, iv. 9, 11.

⁶ *Ep.* xciii.

their Primate, Primianus, had gone astray,¹ and when he refused to accede to their demands they deposed him in solemn Council.² When, however, he acted with remarkable promptitude and condemned them in another Council, they succumbed and craved re-admittance into the fold.³ Here the Donatists committed the fatal mistake of which St. Augustine is never tired of reminding them. For whereas they had always insisted on re-baptizing all Christians who joined them—and these Maximianists had done the same to Donatists and others who had gone over to them during their brief spell of independence—the parent Donatist body now welcomed back their errant children without baptizing them again or requiring any penalties for the crimes they had committed against the principles of the sect.⁴ But what became of their claim to exclusive sanctity after that?⁵ 'Comprehensiveness' had caught them in its elusive toils, and they threw what little principle they had to the winds.

Meanwhile Augustine directed against them a steady stream of controversial literature. If a Donatist wrote a pamphlet he procured a copy—if he could. This was not always an easy matter,⁶ for the schismatics felt their writings would fall under the lash of his dialectic which

¹ *Ep.* lxxvi. 3; cviii. 6, 13; clxxxv. 17.

² The Council held at Cabarsussis in A.D. 393; *Enarr.* ii.20–23 on Ps. xxxvi. 24; *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 16; *Gesta cum Emerito*, 9.

³ *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 132; *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 22, iv. 59, 69; *Ep.* xliii. 26; xliv. 7; li. 5; cviii. 5, etc.

⁴ *Ep.* xxiii.; cviii. 19; *Contra Cresconium*, i. 38.

⁵ Yet, as Augustine told them, they would even have been ready to baptize the *Orbis terrarum* itself had they had the chance! *Contra Litt. Petil.* i. 20; cp. *Ep.* lix.

⁶ *Contra Litt. Petil.* iii. 1–2.

they had learned to dread.¹ Yet, though unsparing in showing up the inherent falseness of their position, the bishop of Hippo was always the shepherd, and rarely, if ever, did he speak or pen a harsh word about them or to them. After all, he had been outside the Church himself at one time, and could enter into the minds of those who were, as he well knew, gazing wistfully at the Church of the *Orbis terrarum*, and wondering if it were possible to make peace with her.² Hence he could sympathize with men who, so far as this world was concerned, had all to lose and nothing to gain by taking a step which meant giving the lie to all their past lives. There were material considerations, too, to be borne in mind. As Donatists they were rich, for they held the Catholic churches and lands; they had many farms and comfortable properties,³ and all these would be lost to them if they acted on their consciences. There was, too, the ugly fact that they had committed many terrible excesses against the Catholics.⁴ Their *Circumcelliones*, or marauding bands, had murdered many a Catholic and burnt many a farm-steading.⁵ Then, too, the Donatists had, in some sort, the Imperial power behind them, at any rate at first, and they had apparently

¹ *Ep.* xliii. i, li; xcvi. 13; *Contra Cresconium*, ii. i.

² In nothing does the bishop's solicitude shew itself more tenderly than in the reassurances he offers the hesitating Donatists who keep on asking, 'How will you receive us if we do come over': *De Unitate*, 57, 62, 69, 70; *Contra Cresconium*, ii. 19, though he feels bound to warn them that they can hardly expect the Catholic laity who have suffered so much at their hands to be so readily mollified, *Ep.* lxxxviii. 9; lxxxix. 7.

³ See note on p. 213 above, also *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 208, 224.

⁴ *Enarr.* ii. on Ps. xxxvi. 24; *Contra Litt. Petil.* i. 26; ii. 23; Labriolle, *l.c.* p. 291, note.

⁵ *Ep.* xci. 9; civ. 17.

some hold on the various Roman officials whose work lay in Africa.

In view of these facts it is of great interest to remark the lines on which Augustine proceeded. He answered every book and pamphlet that appeared,¹ he kept his flock fully *au courant* with the various turns in affairs and every aspect of the controversy.² But what he always had in view was the possibility of some great public conference where the questions at issue could be thrashed out in the sight and hearing of all.³ The real difficulty was to induce them to come to such a conference, for the Donatists always refused,⁴ though when the question was not an immediate one they professed their willingness to come.⁵ Still, so long as such a conference was within the bounds of possibility, his opponents must never be treated by Augustine in such a fashion as should make them afraid of him. In his replies, then, to their writings, he first of all took care to be thoroughly documented. He had their *dossier* at his finger-tips. He could tell them precisely what took place at Cirta in 305, at Carthage in 311, at Rome in 312, at Arles and at Milan in 314. He had had access to the official account of the Imperial investigation at Aptunga to discover whether Cæcilian was a *Traditor* or not; it had there been proved that documents had been tampered with and that it was the original members

¹ *Contra Cresconium*, i. 2.

² *Enarr. in Ps. xxxvi.*

³ He repeatedly asserts that a Plenary Council of the Church could have settled the dispute at the outset, *Contra Litt. Petil.* i. 24; hence he begs insistently for a general discussion even at this late date, *Ep. xlix.*, li., lxxxviii., 5; clxxxv. 7.

⁴ *Enarr. ii. on Ps. xxxvi.* 24; *Ep. xxiii.* 6-7; xxxiii. 2; lxxxvii. 7, 10; cv. 2, 13.

⁵ *Ep. xxxv.* 1; xliii. 1.

of the party of Donatus who had been the *Traditores*.¹ If the Donatists held a council, Augustine got sight of a copy of its *Acts*² and quoted them against their framers. He knows exactly how they treated Tyconius³ and Vincent the Rogatist.⁴

Moreover, he is at pains to keep the precise issue before them. The Donatists were always mixing up the question of Cæcilian's supposed guilt with the question which was the true Church; but these, Augustine points out, are totally distinct questions.⁵ Then he attacks their so-called principles, their claims to exclusive sanctity, and their consequent false teaching on the nature and action of the Sacraments; he dwells on their divisions and on the mutual recriminations they indulge in.

But more than all does Augustine dwell on the true nature of the Church, from which they remain, through their own fault, cut off. It is essentially the 'Catholic' Church,⁶ and 'catholic' means something that is 'throughout the whole'; not, as Petilian had unfortunately said, 'the only one' or 'the whole';⁷ the Truth, and the Catholic Church, are convertible terms;⁸ she is

¹ This is contained in the *Acta Zenophili*, P.L. VIII. 726; XLIII. 799, see the edition by Ziwsa in the Vienna *Corpus*, 1893, pp. 185-197. See, too, *Ep.* lxxvi. 2; *De Unitate*, 18, 73; *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 38.

² Augustine quotes verbatim sections from these *Acta*, *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 62; iv. 35; cf. *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 120.

³ *Ep.* xciii. 14, 43.

⁴ Vincent 'the Rogatist' cuts a pathetic figure; he had been with Augustine at Carthage, had succeeded to Rogatus the founder of this minor schism, and being really convinced of the falsity of his position, had written to Augustine for advice, *Ep.* xciii. 1, 21, 31. ⁵ *Ep.* cxxviii.

⁶ *De Baptismo*, v. 4; on Ps. lxvi. 4; xxxvi. 24, etc.

⁷ *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 90-91.

⁸ *Ibid.*, iii. 59.

always 'the one Mother,'¹ the *Catholica* par excellence;² and this *Catholica* is the *veneranda societas*,³ she is the *Corpus Christi*,⁴ *Corpus Domini*,⁵ she is conspicuous;⁶ and founded on a Rock,⁷ union with her means submission and nothing else;⁸ neither is there any real genuine charity without such submissive union.⁹ The question that every one has to face is, 'Where is the true Church?';¹⁰ outside her, there is no salvation;¹¹ above all she is the *Orbis terrarum*, or the Universal Church;¹² it is folly to pass judgment on the Universe!¹³ Then there is the joy of belonging to her; the inestimable sense of 'security' thence afforded. Indeed, 'securitas' must rank as one of the key-words of the anti-Donatist writings. It does not merely figure in the famous phrase which Cardinal Wiseman made classical, *securus judicat Orbis terrarum*,¹⁴ but it recurs over and over again.¹⁵

Over against this picture Augustine sets that of schism and the unhappy schismatic.

Those who perpetrate a schism are guilty of an appalling crime;¹⁶ for those who follow them—a later generation—the one question must always be: Are we in schism?¹⁷ All schisms are but 'crumbs, *frusta*, broken off from the loaf;¹⁸ death in a state of schism is a terrible thing;¹⁹ to remain in schism, or to quit it, is essentially a

¹ *Ibid.*, 6, 10. ² *De Unitate*, xiv. (35), *Ep.* xciii. 23.

³ *Contra Litt. Petil.* iii. 33. ⁴ *Ibid.*, ii. 195. ⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 74. ⁷ *Ibid.*, 147. ⁸ *Ibid.*, 219, i. 24. ⁹ *Ibid.*, ii. 172.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii. 12; ii. 37, 164, 126. ¹¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 178.

¹² *Sermon* xlvil. 10; *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 20.

¹³ *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 112. ¹⁴ *Contra Parmen.* iii. 24.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, ii. 11; iii. 28, 29; *Contra Litt. Petil.* i. 4, 5; ii. 7, 54; iii. 8, 9 (*securissime*), 10, 42, 44, etc.

¹⁶ *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 164; *Ep.* lxxxvii. 4. ¹⁷ *Petil.* ii. 189.

¹⁸ *De Baptismo*, i. 8; ii. 16. ¹⁹ *Contra. Parmen.* i. 14.

personal thing;¹ a mere local unity is profitless, 'let them get back to the root-stock.'² Yet none realized more clearly than Augustine how hard it was to break fetters grown old: 'the snares of heretics and schismatics are dangerous for carnal-minded folk, precisely because their very advancement is precluded by the fact that they have striven to establish their hollow opinions in the face of Catholic truth, and have confirmed themselves in their obstinate opposition to Catholic peace.'³ Still it will always remain true that there can be no such thing as full Catholic unity without submission on the part of schismatics;⁴ neither should they forget that though they resent being called 'heretics,' since at the worst they are but 'schismatics,'⁵ yet schism inevitably leads to heresy in the end.⁶ 'The only thing we are urging against you is your crime of schism, though this you have turned into a heresy by persevering in it';⁷ for assuredly it is a heresy to have false views of the Church: 'you are heretics, whether by reason of your remaining in a schism grown old, or by reason of the fact that by your very definition of the Church—which is the Body of Christ—you differ from it, or by reason of your practice of repeating Baptism.'⁸ Finally, it is futile to appeal to such a thing as Apostolic succession: 'What could be more certain or more solidly established than the list we derive from Peter, to whom, as personifying the whole Church, the Lord said "Upon this rock will I build My Church, and the gates of hell

¹ *Ibid.*, ii. 19.² *De Baptismo*, ii. 15.³ *Ibid.*, iii. 20.⁴ *Petil.* i. 24.⁵ Cresconius had made this complaint, *Contra Crescon.* ii. 4-5.⁶ *Petil.* ii. 219.⁷ *Contra Cresconium*, ii. 6, 9-10.⁸ *Ibid.*, ii. 10.

shall not prevail against it''?' Augustine then enumerates the Bishops of Rome down to his own time, and concludes: 'In this series of successions there is no Donatist Bishop to be found, though—inverting the order—they have sent a man ordained in Africa to preside over a handful of Africans in Rome.'¹

The Donatists were, strictly speaking, schismatics, not heretics. Hence the Sacraments they gave or received were valid. When the question of reunion became urgent—as it constantly did with individuals—they grew anxious as to the kind of reception they would meet: 'Such an one is a bishop, receive him as such'; or, 'this one is a priest, receive him as such!' More particularly were they anxious for the recognition of the Baptism received in schism. Now while Augustine has no doubts at all about the validity of their Sacraments, he yet makes a distinction which it is well to bear in mind: 'You say that we and you have one and the same religion, and the same Sacraments, and that we do not differ in our Christian observances. Now here I do not wholly agree with you. For you lack the Christian Church, you have not Christian charity. I recognize, of course, the Christian Sacraments among you; but even here I reprobate and condemn the fact that the very same Sacraments which you have in your schismatic state you repudiate amongst us Catholics. The Church acknowledges in you all that is hers; neither do they cease to be hers because found amongst you. They are, however, aliens in your midst; but when she whose they really are receives you back corrected, they then become yours for your well-being, whereas when alien to you they were your undoing.'²

¹ *Ep.* liii. 2.

² *Contra Cresconium*, II. x (12).

'You have not Christian charity,' Augustine had said. By this he meant that they could not have the Holy Spirit in His fulness. 'You are one with us in Baptism, in the Creed, in the rest of the Lord's Sacraments. But in the Spirit of unity and the bond of peace, in fine, in the Catholic Church herself, you are not one with us. If you accept these, then the things you already have will not, of course, come to you, but they will now profit you.'¹ More explicitly still: 'Let them realize that in communions separated from the Church men can indeed be baptized, when, that is, Christ's Baptism is given and received with the same rites; yet that Baptism only then avails for the remission of sins when a man is reconciled to unity, and has laid aside the sacrilege of schism whereby his sins were "bound" and could not be "loosed".'²

More fitting words with which to close this all too brief exposition of St. Augustine's methods in dealing with the Donatist schism could hardly be found than those he uttered when answering the Manichees:—

'There are many things which combine to keep me in the Catholic Church. For, leaving on one side its most genuine wisdom—a wisdom the knowledge of which is attained by but a few spiritual souls in this life, so, that is, that they grasp but a fraction of it, since they are but men, though they hold to it unquestioningly, while the remainder are kept in the safe path not so much by the vivacity of their intelligence as by the simplicity of their faith—leaving on one side, then, this wisdom which you (Manichees) do not believe exists in the Catholic Church, there are yet many other things which most rightly keep me within her bosom. The consentient agreement of nations and peoples

¹ *Ep.* xciii. 46.

² *De Baptismo* I. xii. (18). Cf. *De Baptismo* I, 3; VI, 7; III, 19, 21–22; *Contra Parmen.* II, 28, etc.

keeps me there; its authority, based on miracles, fed on hope, augmented by charity, stablished by long prescription, serves to keep me; the succession in the priesthood down to the reigning bishop, starting from the very See of Peter the Apostle, to whom the Lord entrusted the feeding of His sheep after the Resurrection, serves to keep me there; finally, the very title "Catholic," a name which not without solid reason the Church alone in the midst of so many heresies has held; to such an extent, too, that whereas all heretics want to be called "Catholics," yet no heretic would dare, when a stranger asked him where lay the Catholic Church, point out his own church or house. It is these many, great and most cherished ties that keep in the Church a man who believes aright, even though, owing to the dulness of our minds or the demerits of our lives, the truth does not yet show itself in all its fulness.

'But with you, where there are none of these things to invite me or hold me, nothing is offered but a promise of the truth. Of course if this truth is so manifestly shewn that it cannot be called in question, then it is to be preferred to all those things which keep me in the Catholic Church. But if it is simply promised and never forthcoming, then no one can stir me from that faith which binds my soul by so many firm bonds to the Christian religion.'¹

The great soul of St. Augustine must have found not the least of his trials in the amazing discourtesy—to use a mild term—which the Donatists habitually displayed. For instance, they raked up his past² and called him a Manichæan;³ they said Megalius, who ordained him, took away his character, but they carefully forgot to add that when Megalius discovered his mistake he apologized;⁴ they flouted him as a mere 'dialectician' and a 'rhetorician';⁵ they made it an accusation against

¹ *Contra Epistolam Fundamentalem Manichæi*, iv. (5).

² *Contra Litt. Petil.* iii. 48.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 7, 8, 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 18.

him that he had founded monasteries,¹ though it is not easy to discover wherein lay the heinousness of this crime; they pretended that he was not really a bishop;² they said he had 'the damnable academic mind of Carneades';³ they even lectured him on 'probablism'—of all subjects.⁴ Their perversions of his words were at times so ridiculous that even the saint said testily: 'You do not seem to realize that men with brains read your words!'⁵

While Augustine was busy with his pen as well as with his tongue, the Empire began to interest itself practically in the fortunes of unhappy divided Africa. We cannot here enter on the history of the series of Imperial Edicts, now suppressing, now tolerating the schism. For Augustine it was an anxious time. More than ever he felt that nothing save a public disputation on a grand scale could bring matters to a peaceful conclusion. At last he succeeded, perhaps beyond his wildest hopes. For the Emperor agreed that a Conference should be held in as public a manner as possible, and that the Donatist should be compelled to take part in it.

To say that the whole of Northern Africa was stirred to its depths by the public affixing of the summons to the Conference is no exaggeration. This increased as the various bishops began to arrive. They were more than five hundred and sixty in number, and presumably had a very considerable body of people in their train.

As the time for the Conference drew near, Augustine's anxieties redoubled. The enemies of the Church were

¹ *Ibid.*, 48.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 40.

³ *Ibid.*, iii. 24; Carneades is said to have argued in Rome on one day for justice and on the next day against it, and each day he refuted the arguments he had used on the other!

⁴ *Contra Cresconium*, iii. 85.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii. 45.

at bay; they would do all they could to wreck the meeting; their history in the past had shown that scenes of violence would be avoided with difficulty. Moreover, they were coming to Carthage against their will, and for them their all was at stake. For what they dreaded most was what we should nowadays call 'disestablishment.'¹ They had, at the moment, possession of an immense number of churches and properties to which they had no right save that of one hundred years' tenure. They had been repeatedly ejected from their holdings by Imperial rescripts, but had in most cases succeeded in evading the law. The Imperial rescript had, as a matter of fact, secured them in the possession of their churches for the time being—that is, on condition that they came to the Conference. But if they failed to establish their claim to be the true Church, what was to happen to them? They were to be dispossessed! And they were perfectly conscious that they had not the remotest hope of establishing their claims. Obstruction—failing that—perhaps violence. This was what Augustine dreaded.

Then there was the Catholic population to be reckoned with. For a hundred years they had been kept in subjection. They had endured all sorts of persecution at the hands of men who had—they felt—ruined the peace of the African Church. Nor was the personal factor wanting. Augustine was well aware of their passionate devotion to himself. 'You will be tempted to say,' he said to them in a sermon he preached at Carthage on May 15, 411, shortly before the Conference: "He is assailing my Bishop! He is accusing him of crimes! And I am to hold my tongue?" And again:

¹ *Contra Litt. Petil.* ii. 132.

"I cannot put up with his blasphemies against the Church!" But Augustine adjures them to be patient: 'That is precisely what the Church asks you, to put up with it, because it is the Church he is blaspheming. Let them accuse your Bishop, and do you hold your tongues; you are not agreeing with them but putting up with them. . . . Get away from quarrels and turn to your prayers. Don't try to answer abuse with abuse, but pray for the man. . . . I do not ask you to be absolutely silent, but choose carefully with whom you will be silent and with whom you will talk; keep your mouths shut, but shout in your hearts.' Finally, he urges them to add fasting and good works to their prayers, 'remembering that we have to work a cure; you know how gentle surgeons are with patients even when they are administering violent remedies; then put up with abuse and repay it with medicine.'¹

Augustine preached another sermon to them at Carthage before the Conference actually opened. Like the previous one, it dealt with the need of patience, peace and charity during the anxious days that were coming; but the preacher showed what his real anxieties were. He feared lest the crucial question: Which is the true Church? should be lost sight of in wrangles about individuals, about the guilt of this person or that in the early days of the schism.² He feared, too, the obstinacy of the Donatists:

'Despite all the teaching of the Apostles, despite (Christ's) declaration of His Church and its spread throughout the whole world, I yet hear men say, "I won't give up Donatus; or it may be some one called Gaius or Lucius or Parmenian—names by their thousand, schisms by their thousand! . . .

¹ *Sermon cccvii. 4.*

² *cccviii. 4.*

And though the question of the Church is one, and the question of what individuals have done is another, and these two questions are totally distinct, yet we are not afraid of the question of individual guilt; accusations have been hurled against members of the Church, they have never been able to prove them, whereas we know, and have it in writing, that they were acquitted.¹

Augustine concludes by telling the Catholics what their duty will be during the Conference:²

'None of you is to invade the place of conference. So far as is possible, try not even to pass through the square, lest perchance you should come across some quarrelsome person, then there might come a discussion and so occasion would be offered to them that seek occasion. You have read the Imperial President's Edict which has been publicly put up; that Edict was not, of course, a precaution against you who fear God and do not despise the commands of your Bishops, but for the sake of men who do not worry about such things or even despise them. . . . Leave us to do the disputing, and do you pray for us. And help out your prayers, as we have already told you, by fasting and almsdeeds; attach those two wings to your prayers, so that they may fly to God. If you do that, then perhaps you will be more useful to us than we shall be to you.'³

The Catholic delegates went to the Conference carefully prepared. The mandate delivered to them set out the procedure: they were to attack by setting forth the Church's claims from the Bible, to defend by rebutting the Donatist allegations. The seven chosen Catholic protagonists were Aurelius, the venerable Archbishop of Carthage, Alypius of Tagaste, the bosom friend of Augustine, St. Augustine himself, Vincent of Colusita,

¹ *Ibid.* 5.

² *Ibid.* 6.

³ Marcellinus had declared in his Edict that : 'No layman or Bishop, apart from those designated, is to try and enter the place of peaceful conference.'

Fortunatus of Cirta or Constantine, Fortunatianus of Sicca, and Possidius of Calama, later on the biographer of Augustine. On the Donatist side were their Primate, Primianus of Carthage, Petilianus of Cirta, Emeritus of Cæsarea, Protasius of Tubinia, Montanus of Zama, Gaudentius of Thamugadi, and Adeodatus of Milevis. The actual number of Bishops present in the city was five hundred and sixty-five, *viz.*, two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist and two hundred and eighty-six Catholics. Since one hundred and twenty other Catholic bishops were ill and sixty-four Sees were vacant, there were at that date no less than four hundred and seventy Catholic bishoprics in Northern Africa.

Space precludes any attempt at an account of this amazing Conference. On the first two days nothing was done, owing to the masterly obstructionist tactics of the Donatists. On the third and last day it seemed probable that nothing would be done, but just when things seemed most hopeless a chance remark led to a discussion on the one subject which the Donatists most wished to avoid—the real meaning of ‘The Church.’ But it is precisely here that the immortal narrative breaks off, for the full official account giving every single word that was uttered is—perhaps irretrievably—lost from this point onwards. Fortunately we have Augustine’s own abbreviated account¹ of the proceedings, whence we learn that Marcellinus the President finally gave judgment against the Donatist, and that this decision was affixed to the walls of the Churches throughout Africa, while the official account was read out in the Church Sunday by Sunday, with comments.

We learn further, that an immense stream of converts

¹ *Breviculus Collationis; Ep. cxxxix. 1.*

flowed in,¹ and that Augustine's policy in insisting on open free discussion as the only satisfactory solution of the *impasse* was thus thoroughly justified. But just as comedy had played its part during the discussions, so tragedy marked its end. For the Donatists murdered Marcellinus, the saintly President, for his share in bringing about their defeat.²

¹ *Ep.* clxxxv. 13-15, 29, 52, etc.

² *Ep.* cli; cf. St. Jerome, *Dial. cum Pelagianis*, iii. For the character of Marcellinus, see *Epp.* cxxxiii, cxxxvi, cxxxviii, cli. 8-9.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

St. Augustine's various Treatises will be found in MIGNE'S *Latin Patrology*, XLIII, or vol. IX of St. Augustine's Works; his Letters and Sermons must, of course, be looked for in other volumes.

Also in MIGNE'S *Latin Patrology*, vol. VIII, *Monumenta Vetera ad Donatistarum historiam pertinentium*; other *Monumenta* in vols. XI and XLIII.

DONALDSON, *Church Life in North Africa*, 1909.

FERRÈRE, *La Situation Religieuse de l'Afrique Romaine*, 1897.

FORTESCUE, *Donatism*, 1917.

MONCEAUX, *Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne*, vols. IV and VII.

SPARROW SIMPSON, *St. Augustine and African Church Divisions*, 1910 (to be read with reservations).

Also Mgr. BATIFFOL, *Le Catholicisme de St. Augustin*, 2 vols, 1920.

In the Reviews: *Synthèse Anti-Donatiste de St. Augustin*, in the *Revue Biblique*, July, 1919. In addition to WISEMAN'S famous article in the *Dublin Review* (August, 1839), an article which did so much to convert Newman, see *St. Augustine and the Donatists*, July, 1890, July, 1891, April, 1893.

X.

THE BYZANTINE SCHISM.

BY DOM JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B., B.A.

THE separation of a great part of the East from the Catholic Church, a disaster parallel and equal to the rise of Protestantism in the West, preceded the latter convulsion by three-quarters of a century. Its consummation can be accurately dated from the year 1453, when Constantinople fell into the hands of the Turks. But the division had existed almost continuously during the preceding four centuries since Michael Cerularius. The ultimate causes of the schism were multiple and various.

(1) *Schisms caused by Imperial comprehensiveness*

From the beginning of the Christian empire in the first part of the fourth century, the Emperors had been anxious for religious unity among their subjects. They legislated more and more against paganism, but they found disunion among Christians difficult to deal with. Constantine hoped by the Council of Arles in 314 to reunite the Donatists of Africa. In 325 he expected the Council of Nicæa to dispose of Arianism. When his son Constantius became sole Emperor, he tried by many councils, large and small, and by a somewhat unsystematic persecution, to enforce a compromise between Catholicism and Arianism. In 381 the Catholic Emperor, Theodosius the Great, took the opposite policy

of assembling the bishops of the East at Constantinople to embrace under pain of deposition the faith preserved at Rome by St. Peter. The Nestorians were banished from the Roman Empire by Theodosius II after the council of Ephesus in 431; and Marcian, twenty years later, expected that the great council of Chalcedon would bring back the Monophysites to the Church. Vain hope; and at the end of the century the emperors Zeno and Anastasius reverted to the system of compromise between heresy and orthodoxy. This failed to pacify the East, while it divided it from the West; and so, when the orthodox Justin came to the throne, the Catholic part of the East was reunited to the Roman See in 519 by a formal acceptance of its inerrancy.

Another attempt to conciliate this vast and learned heresy of the Monophysites was made with good intentions by Heraclius, and continued with violence by Constans; the incipient reunion of the heretics, however, came to nothing, whereas a schism naturally ensued from the West, which had firmly resisted the compromise.

Thus the efforts of several Emperors at enforcing comprehensiveness had resulted in three long periods of division of the more subservient East from the less dependent West and the Papacy—for fifty years from about 330 to 380, for thirty-five years between 484 and 519; and again from 640 to 681, forty-one years. In none of these cases was any theoretical objection raised against the right of Rome to define the Faith. The Emperors merely disobeyed, trying to obtain unity in their own way. When an Emperor was a good Catholic, so was his court bishop at Constantinople; when he was a persecutor, he supplied himself with a pliable patriarch.

(2) The Theory of the Five Patriarchates

Meanwhile a theory had been growing in the East that the government of the Church was by five great Patriarchs. About the year 221, Julius Africanus the chronographer published the successions of bishops with their dates for four Churches, those of the three greatest cities, Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and of the Mother Church, Jerusalem. These lists formed the chronological background of the History of Eusebius about 320. Those great Sees were specially recognized by the Council of Nicæa in 325. Fifty years after Constantine had transferred the capital to Constantinople, the council of 381 of Eastern bishops, imperfectly converted and inclined to be Erastian, insisted that this city, as being new Rome, should also have a Patriarch, ranking next after old Rome, and governing Thrace.

In the fifth century Jerusalem obtained a small Patriarchate. Constantinople gradually usurped all Asia Minor, till then under no Patriarch.

But from 450 onwards Alexandria lost her importance, for Egypt was almost wholly Monophysite. Antioch lost much through that heresy, and through Nestorianism. Hence the Patriarch of Constantinople came to be without a rival in the East. He was the Emperor's nominee and Vizier for the government of the Eastern Church.

The Popes again and again protested against this invasion of the rights of precedence of Alexandria and Antioch. But those enfeebled Sees actually desired the protection of the Patriarch of the imperial city, so that the Roman Pontiffs came to admit in practice what they denied in theory.

Rome had never in ordinary cases interfered within the Eastern Patriarchates; only in cases of faith she might sometimes assert her plenary authority, and condemn bishops or acquit them, depose or reinstate them, over the heads of the Patriarchs, who ordinarily were supreme within their own spheres, governing their metropolitans and bishops as fully as the Popes governed Latin Europe by their decretals. But the Popes ruled besides over North Africa through its own provincial and plenary councils, and over their Greek dependencies, Illyricum, with Epirus, Macedonia, Greece, by means of Papal vicars. Thus the Popes had much more than a 'Patriarchate'; and the Easterns, from at least the fourth century, called Rome 'the Apostolic See,' and never denied in theory its right to command.

But the Eastern Emperors, though they sometimes found it convenient to invoke papal authority, more often showed dislike and distrust; for at first Rome was often under a Western Emperor; then at the end of the fifth century under a Gothic king; and afterwards, though nominally subject to the Eastern Empire, it became the acknowledged head of all the new kingdoms of the West, and was largely withdrawn from Imperial influence.

(3) *The Development of Byzantine Chauvinism*

This state of things lasted till that fateful Christmas day of the year 800, when St. Leo III crowned the Frankish king at Rome as Roman Emperor. The Eastern Emperors after this might upon occasion ally themselves with this upstart rival; but their peoples never forgave this insult, as they thought it, to the traditional Empire at Byzantium. No single event

for 400 years was to alienate the East so forcibly from the West. It was a question not of religion but of national pride.

But we find the real beginnings of separation a century earlier. After the reunion with Rome in 680, at the sixth general council, a council of the East alone was assembled at the wish of the Emperor Justinian II at Constantinople, on the plea that the fifth and sixth councils had drawn up no disciplinary canons. This Eastern synod is known as the Council *in Trullo*, or the second council *in Trullo*, and its canons were often quoted erroneously as canons of the sixth council. It drew up an authoritative list of councils and of canonical letters of the Eastern Fathers of the Church, adding 100 canons of its own. Thus was drawn up a complete collection of Eastern canon law.¹

The narrowness of Byzantine outlook is shown in some of these ordinances, which are explicitly directed against Western or Armenian or other foreign usages. For example, though in the East as in the West no one

¹ The first canon enumerates the six œcumenical councils and all the councils generally accepted in the East, the only Western ones being the *Sententie episcoporum* of St. Cyprian (which is declared to be valid for the West only) and the African collection of councils, which is twice quoted. The Apostolical Constitutions are rejected as interpolated; but the 85 Apostolical Canons (which were possibly the work of the same forger, an Arian of the early fifth century) are accepted, and some of the most anti-Western are re-enacted. Of these canons, the first 50 were practically unknown in the West. The remaining 35 were translated by Dionysius Exiguus, but were omitted by him in his second edition in deference to Pope Hormisdas, who added them to the (certainly genuine) Gelasian list of prohibited books. But the subsequent collections of Western canon law were founded on the first edition of Dionysius, so that the 35 canons obtained a certain respect in the West, although they attacked Western customs and were unorthodox on several points. They still form part of Eastern canon law.

can marry after ordination to the subdiaconate, yet in the East those already married can be ordained and remain married. The council enforces anew (of course for the East) the penalty of deposition for any priest who tries to separate, as at Rome, the clergy from their wives. An 'Apostolic' canon, forbidding to fast on Saturday, is to be enforced at Rome also, as in the East. This strange piece of impertinence suggests that the other canons were intended for the East, and were not intended to supersede the stricter Papal decretals which formed the canon law of Europe. The Emperor sent the canons to be signed by the Pope, who indignantly refused; but later Popes gave vague and limited approval of them for the East.

This is the first glaring instance of the devotion of the East to its own stereotyped habits, and of its dislike of the different customs of the West, and in particular of its aversion from the greater severity of Western law.

In the first centuries of Christianity the East was converted more quickly and developed sooner, with a kind of restless vivacity. The more sober West corrected the errors of the East, and from time to time restored it to orthodoxy, imposing upon it the traditional Roman formulas to express the essential doctrines of the faith. But the West borrowed largely from the East, not doctrines as much as practices—Eastern rites and prayers, devotion to the Mother of God, to relics and pilgrimages and images, processions, ceremonies and liturgical usages, monasticism, monastic rules, mystical teaching, and so forth. The precocious East fell earlier into laxity, but the tolerant West was ready to condone differences of discipline as well as to assimilate devotional customs.

But when in the fifth century heresy overwhelmed the older Patriarchates, the spirit of Constantinople began to dominate, and the Greek intellect was submerged in orientalism. Through the surging tide of Saracen invasions, Constantinople upheld her faith and her canons with an admirable constancy, but still more her customs, her liturgical functions, and especially her imperial ceremonies of incredible elaboration and magnificence and profusion, and of unchanging rigidity of detail. These were at length mummified in the Book of Ceremonial under Leo the Wise in the first years of the tenth century. Such matters were of primary importance, more urgent than defensive wars or civil reformation or ecclesiastical dogma. A few years before the final fall of Constantinople, the Westerns observed with surprise at the council of Florence that the main difficulty as to reunion lay in the unvarying Confucian ceremonial of the Greek court, and its Chinese stiffness in traditional observance.

Such a spirit, or want of spirit, refused all outside influence. Always thankful that Roman legates should preside over oecumenical councils to restore traditional doctrine, the Byzantines had at the same time no tolerance for Western ways, which they regarded as vagaries or barbarisms.

Soon after the Council *in Trullo* there broke out a terrible schism, not caused by an Emperor who wished for comprehensiveness, but by a real heretic. Leo the Isaurian, urged perhaps by Mahometans or Jews, began the destruction of images in the churches, to the horror of the conservative Byzantines. During sixty-one years of Iconoclast tyranny (726-787), the orthodox of the East had little chance of any communication

with Rome. Reunion took place in the seventh General Council, in which the presiding legates and Pope Hadrian were acclaimed with enthusiasm. Once more Rome restored the faith of Byzantium. But the fact of a separation lasting for two generations must have enormously emphasized the strangeness of the West, and developed the prejudices of the narrow Byzantines. When the schism recommenced for a time in the first years of the ninth century, the letters of S. Theodore the Studite showed an unsurpassed confidence in Roman authority and infallibility.

(4) *The Legend of Photius*

In the ninth century we encounter Photius, from whom the ultimate division of the Eastern Church from the West is frequently termed 'The Photian schism.' It is assumed that a more or less continuous separation was started by Photius, or at least that he laid the train which ended in an explosion or a series of explosions.

For example, Leo Allatius, the Greek Prefect of the Vatican Library, wrote in 1646: 'Photius was the first origin and cause of all the evils which up till now disfigure the Church of the Greeks, for he separated it from the Latin Church as a child from its mother, and imbued it with many evil opinions.'¹ The Protestant critics of Germany have been enthusiastic about him. So great a Byzantist as Gelzer writes: 'Photius was the born defender of the Greek nation against the claims of Rome.'² To the modern Greeks and Russians he is a hero and a saint.

¹ *De libris eccl. graecorum ; Examen Triodii*, p. 105.

² In Krumbacher's *Gesch. der Byz. Litt.*, p. 972.

I assert, contrariwise, that neither in Photius's own time nor for several centuries afterwards did he appear as a popular protagonist of the Eastern Church against the West. He did not cause a schism between East and West. He never formally denied Papal supremacy. He had but a small following while living, and after his death his memory was long held in execration by his countrymen.

When in 858 the Patriarch St. Ignatius denounced the crimes of the Cæsar Bardas, who governed on behalf of his nephew Michael, Bardas deposed him, and substituted a close connection of his own, Photius, who held great offices at court. This layman received all the Holy Orders in a few days from an excommunicated Archbishop of Syracuse, Gregory Asbestas. Photius was a man of immense learning, a voracious reader by day and by night of all subjects. His considerable riches had enabled him to amass a large library. He had some literary ability, and the Byzantine trick of making up books by borrowing from others. We owe him much, through his critical accounts of the books he had read, many of which are otherwise almost unknown to us. His other characteristics are ambition and a crazy cunning. It is not clear that he had a forcible personality or practical ability, but he had a strange mania for forging.

This learned, famous and influential court personage won over some bishops to his side by promising not to interfere with Ignatius. But Bardas treated the latter with great barbarity and exiled him. The position of Photius was insecure. He published a forged resignation by Ignatius, and an embassy was sent in the Emperor's name to Rome to obtain the confirmation of the

new Patriarch, as was the rule. The Pope was St. Nicholas I. He sent legates to Constantinople to make an inquiry. Partly by threats, partly by gifts, they were won over; and at a council in the spring of 861, they solemnly declared in the Pope's name that Photius was lawful Patriarch.

When Nicholas heard of this conduct, he deposed the legates, and replied to the arguments in Photius's letters, while reserving his decision.

Meanwhile the question of Bulgaria had arisen. Clergy sent by Photius baptized a Bulgarian prince, Bogaris. But Bogaris turned to Rome, and Pope Nicholas, who regarded Bulgaria as within the Roman 'Patriarchate', sent legates who taught the customs of the West to the neophytes, and repeated the confirmations which had been invalidly given by Photius's missionaries, who were without lawful faculties.

Now the Emperors always wished the jurisdiction of their Byzantine Patriarch to extend over their dominions, even in South Italy, and we are not surprised that the warlike and dangerous Bulgarians were regarded by the Emperor as a welcome addition to the Patriarchate of the capital. It might be expected that by becoming Christians of the Byzantine rite, they would be friendly and even respectful. Hence the arrival of the Papal missionaries in Bulgaria made the court furious. A violent letter was sent in 866 in the name of the Emperor Michael and the Cæsar Basil (Bardas had been murdered in the spring) to the Bulgarians, denouncing the Roman envoys as teachers of multiple heresies. At the same time Photius composed an 'open letter' addressed to the three Eastern Patriarchs in the same sense.

But Photius had recently written to Pope Nicholas that the differences of custom between East and West were matters for mutual toleration! Now he declares that among the Bulgarians, who had two years previously embraced the pure faith of Constantinople, there had broken in, like a thunderbolt or an earthquake or a hailstorm, wicked envoys from the West, teaching men to fast on Saturdays, and to feast during the first week of Lent (for Lent in the East begins at Quinquagesima); who repeated the sacrament of confirmation, and interpolated heretical words into the Holy Creed (the *Filioque* is meant), and forbade priests to remain married. Photius is careful not to say that these men were Papal legates. But he asks the Easterns to come or send legates to a general council. The letter was obviously not sent to the three Patriarchates, for they were not in communion with the intruded Patriarch of Constantinople. It is simply a sham appeal to an oecumenical council, intended to impress the Bulgarians and to support the Emperor.

For the letter of Michael and Basil begins with exactly the same accusations, but it goes on to points which Photius omits as only fit for the barbarians, as they are all absurd: the mad young Emperor declares that the Westerns kill a lamb on the altar at Easter; they wear no beards; they make chrism out of the water of the river; they consecrate deacons to the episcopate *per saltum*. Lastly, he asserts that when the emperors migrated from Rome to Constantinople, the primacy of the Roman See went over to New Rome, and that with the royal dignities, the privileges of the Roman See were also transferred.

This letter is lost,¹ and Michael, may only have meant that Constantinople obtained equal privileges with Rome. But Pope Nicholas took the worst sense as intended, and indignantly sent the copy of the letter to the bishops of Gaul to be answered. Three admirable replies have come down to us, showing to us the Westerns as more learned, logical and moderate than the Greeks.²

The Pope had previously sent letters declaring Photius to be an intruder; but the Emperor had refused admittance to his ports, and the Pope had then vainly tried sending eight letters through Bulgaria. It was the bearer of these letters who sent him the absurd letter of the Emperor Michael.

But even when the Pope was writing to Gaul in October, 867, having just replied himself at considerable length, with great severity and some humour, to the Emperor's epistle, the latter had been murdered a month earlier (23 September, 867) in one of his drunken bouts by the Cæsar Basil the Macedonian, who believed that Michael had decided on his death.

Photius's position at once became desperate. He had flattered Michael's debauches, and winked at his

¹ It is important to notice how Photius's letter supports the more important points of the Emperor's letter, but omits the absurdities; also that Photius argued for the Western principle of mutual tolerance in discipline and custom when he wished to please the Pope, and that he denounces Latin ways as horrible heresies when he is obliged to support the Emperor. But this famous letter was not meant for the Eastern Patriarchs, still less for Rome, but to please the Court and to influence the Bulgarians in the Imperial interest. Centuries later, it became a manifesto against the West. It hardly amounted to this at the time it was written; and it was mild by the side of Michael's epistle.

² Nicholas I, Ep. 152 (Oct. 867). Excellent though contemptuous replies were at once produced by Aeneas, bishop of Paris (P.L. 121), by Ratramnus, the famous monk of Corbie (P.L. 121) and by the German bishops in council at Mainz (P.L. 119).

dressing up a sham Patriarch to do mock ceremonies. Michael had been amused at supporting his uncle's brother-in-law against the canons, against Rome and the other Patriarchs. The new Emperor, Basil, had come to Constantinople as a servant, and risen by his own energy and capabilities. Brutal and illiterate, he cared nothing for Photius's social rank or fame of learning, and could not overlook his former complicity with the hated Bardas. Nor can he have wished for a Patriarch recognized only by the bishops he had himself intruded into Sees whence he had banished the lawful occupants.

The very day after the murder of Michael, the vigorous Basil deposed Photius, and on the following day an honourable embassy was despatched to bring back the rightful Patriarch, St. Ignatius. Seven sealed bags were seized, which Photius's servants had concealed in a thicket. In these bags two books, finely bound, were discovered, containing the fictitious Acts of an 'oecumenical' council. Seven sessions were against Ignatius, and each had as a frontispiece a caricature of that Saint from the pencil of Archbishop Asbestas, labelled respectively 'Devil,' 'Beelzebub,' 'Son of perdition,' and so forth. An eighth session excommunicated Pope Nicholas for alleged crimes. Michael and Basil were represented as presiding at the council and signing, together with more than a thousand metropolitans and bishops and the representatives of Alexandria and Antioch. Another copy of these Acts had been sent by the hands of the bishops of Chalcedon and Laodicea to the yet uncrowned Emperor of the West, Louis the German, and to his haughty wife, Ingelberta, who were now engaged in their long wars about Beneventum. Basil, on hearing

this, had the messengers stopped. They were found to be bearing letters from Photius promising that, now Michael was dead, Louis should be proclaimed Emperor at Constantinople, if he would carry out the decisions of this great synod, and depose the Pope.

No council had ever been held. The Acts had apparently been composed and illuminated for the amusement of the childish drunkard Michael, who always delighted in any abuse of Ignatius. But Photius, in his despair at the accession of Basil, tried as a last chance whether they might not be believed in South Italy. They were not meant to be published at Constantinople, where everyone knew no such council had taken place. Hence Basil in derision posted up these curious forgeries in a hall in the palace for all to see. The copy intended for Boris was sent to Nicholas himself.

But Nicholas was dead when the Emperor's ambassadors arrived with a letter from St. Ignatius, which is famous for its clear assertion of the prerogatives of Rome. Pope Hadrian II sent legates and letters to confirm the deposition of Photius and to restore Ignatius. The Pope, like Anastasius Bibliothecarius (who was at Constantinople as ambassador from Louis the German), understood that a council had actually been held by Photius, in which he had excommunicated St. Nicholas. But all the contemporary Greek authorities show that the whole of the Acts was a pure invention.

The legates were received by the Emperor with high honour, and in late autumn, 869, a council was opened with representatives of Antioch and Jerusalem, and later of Alexandria. Though only twelve bishops were present at first, there were a hundred and two before the end. The Council styled itself, and was styled by

contemporaries, Eastern and Western, the eighth General Council.

On account of the recent letter of the Emperor Michael to the Bulgarians denouncing the customs of the West, every bishop present had to sign a *libellus* or supplication to the Holy See, modelled on the one which Pope Hormisdas had imposed on all the bishops of the East in 519. This document declared that the truth of Our Lord's promise to St. Peter: 'Upon this Rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it,' is proved by facts, in that religion has always been preserved spotless in the Apostolic See. All heretics and Photius and his adherents are rejected, and the petitioner prays: 'In all things following the Apostolic See and proclaiming its teaching, I hope to be admitted to one communion with you, which the Apostolic See proclaims, in which is the perfect and veritable solidity of the Christian religion.' This declaration was evidently wounding to the pride of some of these chauvinistic Byzantines, who hated Western ways, although ready to accept the far-off primacy of Rome. Some of the petitions were stolen from the lodgings of the Papal legates. Anastasius Bibliothecarius, who knew Greek well, complained on their behalf to the Emperor, who had the documents restored to them.

The council, however, acclaimed the letters of Pope Hadrian, with their tremendous assertions of his universal authority. It was proved that the Emperor and the bishops and the supposed representatives of the Eastern Patriarchs, whose signatures appeared in Photius's invented Acts, had never heard of any such council, and the forged Acts were solemnly burnt. But the

excommunication of Pope Nicholas, though only on paper, was regarded as the culmination of the crimes of Photius.

Photius refused to defend himself, but kept silence. He was reduced to lay communion, together with Asbestas and all the bishops and clergy he had ordained.

Byzantine Emperors were accustomed to treacherous courtiers and untrustworthy tools. Photius's high connections and unrivalled learning obtained his recall from exile. He regained the favour of Basil by inventing a royal genealogy for the low-born Macedonian. Eventually he was lodged in the Palace, and made tutor to the monarch's sons.

Meanwhile, St. Ignatius had reasserted the Byzantine claim to Bulgaria. There was something to be said on his side, for an important part of the Bulgarian dominions (Lower Moesia) had actually been made over to the See of Constantinople by Pope Vigilius to please Justinian.¹ But Pope John VIII, with his usual vigour, threatened Ignatius with excommunication if he did not withdraw all his clergy who were among the Bulgarians within thirty days, and even with deposition if recalcitrant.

But the aged Patriarch was already dead (Oct. 26, 877). The legates who brought the letter found that Basil three days later had installed Photius as Patriarch, and they were somehow induced, after hesitation, to communicate with him. The Emperor wrote to the Pope begging his approval, and Photius wrote also,

¹The principle of the Emperors was to put under the See of Constantinople whatever came absolutely under the Eastern Empire; so that the Emperor Leo in 733 (under Pope Gregory III) had made South Italy and Illyria (with Macedonia and Greece) a part of the Byzantine Patriarchate. Needless to say, no Popes admitted this, but they were powerless to prevent it.

describing his struggles to avoid so great a burden, and alleging that the Eastern Patriarchs and all the bishops of his own Patriarchate had accepted him with enthusiasm.

John VIII, thinking chiefly of Bulgaria, and anxious also for the help of the Emperor's fleet, took the astonishing course of sending Cardinal Peter of St. Chrysogonus to join the other legates, with instructions to acknowledge Photius as Patriarch on condition that he should ask for mercy before a synod, and should promise to leave the Bulgarians alone. Photius made the promise, but refused to implore forgiveness, declaring that he had no guilt. The Pope, on hearing this, merely rebuked him.

What actually took place at Constantinople we do not know. We possess the acts of a council held in 879 by Photius, but these cannot have been sent to John VIII, for in them the four letters of the Pope have been altered in Photius's interest, as we know by comparing them with the originals in the *registrum* of John VIII. A fifth document containing the instructions to the legates has been even more tampered with. This throws suspicion on the rest of the Acts, which are full of fulsome praise of Photius, almost certainly composed by Photius himself. The laudatory letters of the Eastern Patriarchs and the speeches of their legates are also either inventions or falsified, since they declare that these Patriarchs had always been in communion with Photius, whereas we know from the eighth council that they had never acknowledged him during his former term of power. We naturally presume that the number of bishops is grossly exaggerated, and one cannot be certain that the Eastern legates were there at all.

A council was indeed held, for three out of its eight canons were admitted into the tenth century collection of canon law—the *Nomocanon*, of which the earliest form seems to have been composed under Photius in 883, though not by him. But apart from this, the council is not mentioned by the contemporary writers who speak of Photius's restoration, Nicetas, Metrophanes, Stylianus, and the contemporary Greek abbreviator of the eighth council (about 891-2). Similarly the subsequent Byzantine chronicles, when mentioning Photius's rehabilitation, never speak of a council, though (unless very short and succinct) they always mention the eighth general council which restored Ignatius. It must have been merely a small synod of such pliable bishops as were in Constantinople at the moment.

As the existing acts could not have been made public at Constantinople, nor sent to Rome or to the East, as their falsity would have been recognized, it remains that they were composed by Photius later, that is, in his second exile. They emerge only at a later date. Ivo of Chartres knew them in an incorrect Latin translation; and a certain Nilus, metropolitan of Rhodes, who has been supposed to have flourished as early as the fourteenth century, is quoted as naming them the 'eighth general council.' Some modern Eastern writers, such as Papadopoulos, give this stupid forgery the same grandiloquent title.

It is uncertain whether John VIII after this left Photius alone, or (as the abbreviator of the eighth council declares) anathematized him publicly from a pulpit in Rome. Photius seems to have kept his promise about the Bulgarians. But John VIII sent

a legate, Marinus, who certainly took an unfavourable view of the Patriarch, and was consequently imprisoned for thirty days by Basil. In 882 Marinus became Pope, and excommunicated Photius; Basil retaliated by denying the validity of the election of Marinus. The Pope died, and his successor also; it was Pope Stephen in 885 who replied severely, though not without humour, to Basil.

But the Emperor had lost his vigour of mind since the death of his eldest son, and was entirely under Photius's influence. In the following year, 886, he died, and his son Leo, called the Wise, then a lad of twenty, instantly deposed his old tutor Photius, who died in exile at an unknown date.

In all this history we perceive that Photius never denied in theory the primacy of Rome. In both his terms of office, it was an Emperor who set him up, and an Emperor who deposed him, according to Byzantine habit. But in each case he tried to obtain confirmation of his position from the Pope, forcing the Papal legates both of Nicholas the Great and John VIII to accept him in a council. In his synod of 879 he did not remove, though he partly rewrote, the Pope's claims to authority. It is true that he remained Patriarch on both occasions for some time under the Emperor's protection and in spite of Rome, declaring that he was unjustly condemned; this was what any rebellious bishop would do. He excommunicated Pope Nicholas, but only in a romancing document, published derisively by his enemies. In his last exile he wrote a famous treatise against the addition by the Westerns of the words *Filioque* to the creed, but here he claims the authority of Pope John—'my John'—and his predecessors,

thus appealing to Rome against the objectionable words.

Was Photius indeed a genius and a patriot, as the German critics say, who seized upon the ideas which would unite his countrymen in throwing off the intolerable yoke of Rome? On the contrary, he rouses no enthusiasm in life or after death. Ignatius is a saint whose feast was kept throughout the Eastern Church. In favour of Photius we have two references by his successor and near relation Nicholas the Mystic (or Secretary) writing to a Saracen,¹ and a doubtful reference by Arethas of Cæsarea, who had been his pupil.² Probably before his death the life of St. Ignatius by Nicetas the Paphlagonian was published, full of hatred and contempt for Photius. In the ninth century, he is a usurper to Constantine Porphyrogenitus; Genesios follows Nicetas, while Symeon Magistros goes even further, filling his pages with horrible legends of the persecutor—how his mother was a nun, how fearful prophecies that he would be Antichrist preceded his birth, how he drank more than Michael the drunkard, how a serpent

¹ Photius, when a layman, went on an embassy to the East (recorded in his *Bibliotheca*), perhaps to Bagdad. Hence the Patriarch Nicholas, in flattering the Emir of Crete, tells him how much his father was beloved by Photius, 'a man of God, my father in the Holy Ghost.' Nicholas might not have written thus to a Christian. Cf. *Patr. Gr.* Vol. III, col. 36-7 (to Emir of Crete) and 364-5 (to the Sultan).

² Arethas, archbishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, to whose MS. at Paris we owe the preservation of the earliest Christian apologists, mentions Photius as a persecuted Saint in his funeral oration of St. Euthymius, the rival of Nicholas the Mystic. But only a fragment has been published in a Latin translation (P.G. 106, col. 806). The MS. is at Moscow, and the words, 'and Photius,' are quite likely to be an interpolation by some Russian. On the other hand, the studious Arethas may really have had some affection for his old master.

was seen in his hand, how he taught that man has two souls, how a workman died in agonies, exclaiming that Photius had taught him to break his fast before Holy Communion, how the last words of Basil the Macedonian were: 'Photius the unholy and his accomplice Santabarenius have removed me far from God, and have dragged me into the same perdition as themselves.'

Such was the reputation of Photius half a century after his death. Other chroniclers are shorter, with nothing in his favour: the biographer of Michael abridges Genesios; the life of Leo abridges Symeon, and so do the additions to the chronicle of George the Sinner.

In the following century, the eleventh, the best chronicler is Skylitzes; he tells the disgraceful story without the legends; Leo Grammaticus merely summarises the facts from Symeon. In the twelfth century, John Zonaras abridges Symeon; his work had great vogue. Michael Glycas was a popular writer in Vulgar Greek; he shows Photius as a cruel persecutor and versatile conspirator. At the end of the century, Constantine Manasses wrote a chronicle in verse which achieved immense popularity; his abuse of Photius is very emphatic. So much for the supposed hero-worship of Saint Photius for three centuries. Even in the fourteenth century the verse chronicle of Ephraim still makes him *ἀνὴρ πανούργος*, a crafty rogue.

It seems probable that it was not until the sixteenth century, after Photius's council was published with its adulation of his virtues, that the Greeks took up the idea that he was a holy man, a patriot. His writings on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and his letter against Western customs had been found useful. But

it is said that his feast as a Saint on the 6th of February was introduced into the Byzantine and Russian Churches as recently as 1869.¹

(5) *The Causes of Eastern hatred for the West*

I have spent a long time in showing that Photius was neither the author nor the chief cause of the oriental schism. He was simply the most learned, but not the most revered, among those who proclaimed the intolerance of the Byzantines for any customs but their own. The Emperor Leo, who deposed him, used to preach in public. In one of his extant sermons he inveighs against the wicked men who say that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. This question of a Western interpolation into the creed became the chief of the stock complaints of the Easterns. But Rome had not yet admitted the addition.

¹ Manuel Gedeon in his lives of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, *Πατριαρχικοί Πίνακες* (Constantinople, 1890), admits that the feast, Feb. 6th, is somewhat recent, and that the hymn (*ἀκολουθία*) had been composed scarcely forty years. He refers to the unfavourable view taken by the Byzantine chroniclers as showing that Photius was not considered a holy man for some time. This is very straightforward. But the learned Papadopoulos Kerameus has tried to show that Photius has always from his own time been venerated as a Holy Father of the Orthodox Church (*Byz. Zeitschrift*, 1899, VIII, pp. 647-71: ὁ Πατριάρχης Φώτιος ὡς πατὴρ ἅγιος τῆς ὀρθοδόξου καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας). The only proof worth mentioning is drawn from the life of St. Euthymius of Macedonia by his companion Basil, of which Pap. Kerameus claims to have found a 13th century MS. Euthymius is represented as withdrawing from the communion of Photius; thereupon the biographer is made to say that this was a mistake, for Photius was a very holy man, *etc.* Obviously an interpolation, this is most unlikely to date even from the thirteenth century. It is apparently an insertion by the Russian translator, since P.K. does not say he examined the MS. and found it there. An abbreviation of this unpublished life of St. Euthymius (not to be confounded with the life of St. Euthymius of Constantinople, published by De Boor) will be found (of all places) in the *Petits Bollandistes*.

Under this same pious Emperor Leo arose the thorny dispute as to his fourth marriage, contrary to the Greek canons. The Pope was appealed to, and allowed it; the Patriarch Nicholas was deposed, and St. Euthymius was set up. Hence a schism among the Eastern bishops, though none between the East and Rome; but another difference of law between East and West had been emphasized.

There was a nearly unbroken communion between Constantinople and Rome during the hundred and fifty years which elapsed between Photius and Michael Cerularius.¹ But the disreputable state of the Papacy during most of that period must have lost it much of its prestige in the East.² It was a great reformer,

¹ The Patriarch Sergius (999-1019) removed the Pope's name temporarily from the diptychs. A disgraceful example of appeal to Rome from Constantinople was the appointment of Theophylact, a boy of 16, son of the Emperor Romanus, as Patriarch, after the deposition of Trypho. Romanus wrote a grateful letter to Pope John XI, celebrated for its respectful character, but testifying to the rancour of many at Constantinople against any interference by Rome except in matters of faith. See Mann's *Lives of the Popes*, VI, p. 136.

² It was precisely the renovation of the Papacy by the German Popes of the eleventh century which marked the actual beginning of rupture. The Emperor St. Henry II was called in by Benedict VIII (1012-24) to war against the Byzantines in Apulia; but Basil II attempted reunion in 1025, and seems to have won over John XIX (1024-33) with Byzantine gold; but all France and Italy stormed with the Cluniacs against this. Norden regards the reform of the Papacy by Cluny as a chief cause of the eventual schism, together with the victory of Western influence in South Italy, which Henry III conquered in 1047. But a third party wanted South Italy—not the Mahometans of Sicily, but the Normans; and the German Leo IX (1048-54) tried to unite the Western Henry III with the Greeks to get South Italy back from the Normans, and Sicily from the infidel. So that a Cluny-minded Pope was uniting West with East just when the break by Michael Cerularius began. It is therefore difficult to see that W. Norden is right about Cluny (see his *Das Papsttum und Byzanz*, Berlin 1902, pp. 16-17, etc.).

Pope St. Leo IX, who was to suffer for the weaknesses and vices of his predecessors.

St. Leo had been for some time the ally of the Eastern Emperor, Constantine Monomachus, against the Normans in South Italy, and was actually their prisoner at Benevento, when an infamous letter was sent to the West by Leo, bishop of Achrida in Bulgaria, against the use of unleavened bread in the Holy Eucharist. He declares this Western rule to be Jewish and invalid, and he similarly attacks the Saturday fast, the eating of blood, and the omission of Alleluia in Lent.

This absurd letter was inspired by the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, whose will dominated that of the paralytic Emperor, for the latter wished to continue his alliance with the Pope. The Patriarch shut the Churches of the Latins, and impiously ordered the Blessed Sacrament to be cast out and trodden under foot as invalid. The legates sent thereupon by the Pope were honourably received by the Emperor, and they laid a solemn sentence of excommunication of the Patriarch on the altar of St. Sophia. Michael replied by a manifesto from a council, in which he borrowed from Photius's encyclical to the Eastern Patriarchs. Antioch was no longer under Mahometan rule, and its Patriarch remonstrated with Michael for some of the untruthful and ridiculous arguments he employed; he admits the rest, and considers the Westerns as barbarians whose wrong customs are to be tolerated; for it would be diasastrous to separate from the great See of Rome.

Michael Cerularius, who conspired against several emperors, and himself assumed the imperial buskins, was deposed in 1059 by Isaac Comnenus. But no real

reunion took place. Benedict VIII had been the first Pope to have the creed sung at Mass (as had long been the custom in Gaul) to please the Emperor St. Henry II, and it was sung under Leo IX with the interpolated *Filioque* as we use it to-day.

Events made the narrow-minded hatred of the Easterns incurable. Within forty years the Crusades, essentially so glorious but in detail so deplorable, began their decisive effect on political and ecclesiastical relations. Hordes of Westerns passed through Constantinople. They regarded the Greeks as schismatics, and found them to be untrustworthy and cruel. The Greeks regarded them as barbarians and heretics. Latin kingdoms and duchies were set up in all the conquered lands, with altar against altar; the Churches of the Greeks, which the Mahometans had respected, were seized for the Latin rite; Latin Patriarchs and metropolitans, bishops and priests were established. The unfortunate Easterns preferred the infidels to the Christians of the West.

At last, just when the temporal influence as well as the spiritual authority of the Papacy had reached its highest pitch in the great pontificate of Innocent III, the fourth Crusade, so-called, turned aside to sack Constantinople instead of attacking the Moslem. The spoils of the Imperial city filled the West, and the unspeakable horrors of the massacre lighted in the East a fire of anger which still burns undying in our own day. Innocent excommunicated the conquering Venetians, with small result; and for two generations, fifty-seven years, a sham Latin Emperor ruled in the city of Constantine.

The Greek Emperors meanwhile had retired to

Nicæa. They were inclined to reunion with Rome, but their people were naturally recalcitrant. The Latins accorded only a partial tolerance to the Greek rites and customs, and henceforward the Greek hatred was permanent.

In 1261 Michael Palæologus regained his capital, and finding no other help against the Turks, with the co-operation of the learned Patriarch Beccus (or Veccus) arranged a reunion in the oecumenical Council of Lyons in 1274. But the people of Constantinople repudiated the union; the Emperor weakened, and was excommunicated by Nicholas III.

All this time the Bulgarians, who had not suffered from the Crusaders, were more moderate than the Greeks; and the far-off Russians, though in communion with the East, were not wholly separated from the West.

Once more an Emperor attempted a reconciliation, in 1439, when the Turks were at the doors of his capital. John Palæologus came to Florence with his brother the Patriarch Joseph, the Russian metropolitan of Kiew and other dignitaries, and at this general council a reunion was patched up, not only with the Greek Empire, but with the monophysite Armenians as well. But the monarchs of the West refused to help the doomed city, though the Pope sent the few troops he could muster. In 1453 the Turks sacked Constantinople, and slew the population for three days.¹ The last

¹ The conqueror, Mahomet II, was a man of education and refinement, whose portrait in the National Gallery by Gentile Bellini makes him well-known to us. His cruelty was horrible. But the Crusaders had been no better. As for the Easterns, Basil II, a Christian emperor, had 15,000 prisoners blinded, leaving one eye to every hundredth man.

successor of Julius Cæsar fell gloriously in battle while he was in Catholic communion, and the last Holy Mass offered in St. Sophia was a Catholic Mass.

The empire came to an end, and with it the latest reunion. The Greek Church had become identified with the Imperial power. Now it fell under the Sultan.

In these novel circumstances the Patriarchs of Constantinople gained more actual authority than they had ever exercised. Christianity was organized as a 'Nation' under the rule of the Patriarch, who was responsible to the Sultan, with power of jurisdiction and taxation. The Church was legally tolerated, with occasional massacres, unofficial as contrary to the law of the Koran. The Greeks infinitely preferred the Moslems to the Latins. The Patriarchs waxed rich. The chief drawback was their uncertainty of tenure. Nominally elected by a synod, they were appointed and deposed at frequent intervals by the Sultan, sometimes reappointed, but often for a very few years or a few months. This was owing partly to the quarrels of the Greeks among themselves, partly to the desire for the fees, and even bribes, exacted by the Grand Turk at each new investiture. Though a few Patriarchs, besides Cyril Lucar, toyed with Protestantism, none could be allowed to think of subjection to the Papacy. They had been puppets of Cæsaro-papism, except when they received Roman succour, in the past; now they were civil viziers of an infidel monarch.

Hence every time an Eastern race, Greece or Bulgaria or Serbia or Roumania and so forth, freed itself from the Mussulman yoke, its new German king with his parliament became the head of the Church. Every time, the Patriarch excommunicated them as schismatics, and

then gave in more or less, knowing himself to be after all but a Turkish functionary.

Similarly the Russian nation, once unified under the first Tzar, remained in friendly communion, but in no subjection to Constantinople. The metropolitans of Kiew were not confirmed by the Patriarch; and in 1587 the Russians demanded a Patriarch of their own at Moscow, who became the fifth Patriarch, in the place of the Pope, who was regarded as having apostatized. Peter the Great abolished the Patriarch, and instituted the Holy Synod as a governing body. Originally only two of the members were bishops, and the president was always a layman appointed by the Tzar, on whom in practice the appointment of bishops depended, and all ecclesiastical matters, even, for example, the canonization of Saints.¹

It has been said that the Russian Church was the most Erastian that has ever existed. This is unfair. It has retained inviolate the faith defined by the first seven oecumenical councils, and reveres all the ecclesiastical laws, good and bad, of the Byzantine Nomocanon; whereas the Protestant rulers of the sixteenth century invented and imposed new forms of Christianity and new laws for the Church. The Church of England is

¹ The Russian clergy are a caste. The son of a priest has to become a priest, and has to marry the daughter of a priest before ordination. Before the war they had the reputation of being very drunken, very poor, and of living by extorting stole-fee with difficulty from the peasants to whom they ministered. Their education was improving at the universities, with the result that the Church students turned to Modernism and Socialism. When the wife of a priest dies, he has to enter a monastery, and cannot, of course, remarry. The bishops are taken from the monasteries, or else the wife has to become a nun. The famous Patriarch Nikon insisted in 1653 that deacons and priests should be able to read and write. At the present-day monks and even abbots are sometimes quite illiterate.

now waiting to see how much latitude of belief or of self-government will be allowed by Parliament in the Church whose tenets were originally decided by Tudor absolutism. Such Erastianism is not known in the East, where Emperors and Caliphs have enforced the ancient dogmas and canons, and have constituted themselves their guardians, even if they have over-ridden them occasionally and at pleasure.

Since the War, the Caliphate of Constantinople has been abolished, but the Patriarch appears still to have an insecure seat.¹ The Balkan States have independent Churches. The huge Church of Russia was always opposed by an immense number of wild or foolish dissenters, and has now, for want of the imperial authority, split into several portions. The future is clouded.

But the Eastern Church remains a witness to Catholicism. In the first place, like the separated Nestorians and Jacobites, it testifies to the belief of all East and West, before the divisions, in the Holy Sacrifice, the Real Presence and the seven Sacraments; and secondly, like those heresies, it proclaims that the Church of Christ is necessarily one; for it claims to be the one Church founded by Christ, and denies the possibility of including schismatics or heretics, refuses comprehensiveness and the sinking of differences, asserting the authority of the Church, and commanding the unquestioning obedience of faith to be rendered to her dogmas.

And yet this Eastern Church, so cut up by nationalities, is not sure of herself. She knows how terrible is the assertion that the first See, the largest and most

[¹ I add, in April, 1928, that Islam has now for some weeks past ceased to be the established religion of Ottoman countries.]

important Patriarchate over the whole West, is lost to the faith. In the celebrated council of Bethlehem, as against Protestantism, she did not venture to call herself the Catholic Church, a name none dare assume but the Church in communion with the successor of Peter; she gave as her name 'The Holy Orthodox Eastern Church.' Ordinarily she is called the 'Orthodox Church' as opposed to the Jacobites; sometimes her sons call her 'the Church of the seven councils.' Thus her creeds and her theologians claim that she is the One Church of God, yet she seems dimly to confess that she is a broken branch. She is not altogether heretical, but cut off from unity by a lamentable racial schism of unreconciled hate. It is not so much faith as charity which is wanting. We must try on our side to repair the faults of our forefathers in past centuries, at least by our fervent prayers for the reunion to the only centre of unity and authority of those great Eastern communions to whose saints and doctors we owe an incalculable debt.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

For so vast a period it is difficult to suggest books. The headings of chapters in Mgr. MANN'S *Lives of the Popes* will easily show every place where the relations of the Popes with the East are described by this careful and learned writer. Any general histories must be read, with more caution. Two books are obviously to be used, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, by ADRIAN FORTESCUE, D.D. (Catholic Truth Society, 1907), very interesting and good, with occasional slips, and L. Duchesne, *Églises séparées*, Paris, 1896.

For Photius, Cardinal HERGENRÖTHER, *Photius* (Regensburg, 3 vols., 1867-9). A. LAPÖTRE, S.J., *L'Europe et le S. Siège, Jean VIII* (Paris, 1895). A. VOGT, *Basile Ier*, 867-886 (Paris, 1908).

For Cerularius, *Psellus*, ed. SATHAS (Methuen, 1899): CORNELIUS WILL, *Acta et scripta quæ de controversiis ecclesiae Graecae et Latinae saec. XI composita extant* (Leipzig and Marburg, 1861).

For general Byzantine history there are a number of French writers, often as lively as they are learned; among many books I suggest:

DIEHL, *Figures Byzantines* (Paris, 1906), very vivid.

RAMBAUD, *Études sur l'hist. Byz.* (Paris, 1912.)

SCHLUMBERGER, on the tenth century (larger works): *Nicéphore Phocas* (1890); *L'épopée Byzantine*, 3 vols (1896, 1900, 1905). *Prise de CP. par les Turcs, 1453* (1913).

F. PARGOIRE, *L'église byzantine de 527 à 820* (Paris, 1906.)

L. BRÉHIER, *Querelles des images* (Paris, 1904); *Les croisades* (2^d ed., 1907).

F. CHALANDON, *Alexis Comnène*, 2 vols. (1900).

The learned studies of M. CHARON (now KARALEWSKI) of the Vatican Library must also be mentioned.

On the Russian Church: MOURAVIEFF, *History of the Russian Church* (Parker, Oxford, 1842).

Also COBHAM, *The Patriarchs of Constantinople* (from M. Gedeon), Cambridge, 1911.

E. PEARS, *The Destruction of the Greek Empire* (Longmans, 1903).

On the Greek Church: TONDINI, *The Pope of Rome and the Eastern Popes* (Longmans, 1871).

CALLINICOS, *The Greek Orthodox Church* (Longmans, 1918).

SIBERNAGL, *Bestand der Kirchen des Orients*, giving statistics (Regensburg, 1904).

XI.

THE ENGLISH DISRUPTION IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY JOSEPH CLAYTON, ESQ., F.R.HIST.S.

(1) *The Repudiation of the Papacy under Henry VIII.*

THE disruption of the Church in England, commonly called the Reformation, was accomplished in a series of events spread over some thirty-five years of the sixteenth century, A.D. 1535-1570: from the first setting up of the royal supremacy by Henry VIII to the excommunication of Elizabeth by Pope Pius V. Doctrines of nationality and of the absolute state were developed in England, as on the Continent, at the cost of Catholic unity.

The significance of the Act of Parliament that made the king supreme head of the church in England was not realized at the time, the consequences of separation from Catholic Christendom were not anticipated—save by a very few. Respect for the Papacy was not conspicuous in Europe, there was no lively regard for the occupant of the See of Peter. The Papacy, in fact, was held in no high repute. Hardly could it have been otherwise. The Great Schism, followed by the reigns of the Popes of the Renaissance—lovers of the arts and of literature, tolerant liberal-minded men, statesmen and soldiers, quite indifferent to the spiritual needs of Europe—had in some quarters shaken the conviction that Rome was the centre of Christendom. The Catholic Church was not—so Luther and Calvin,

Zwingli and Cranmer decided—the Church of the Roman obedience. The Church did not make Christians, as Catholics said; Christian men made the Church. To be in communion with Rome was, to the Protestant reformer, to be outside the true Catholic Church. If the Pope was not anti-Christ, as the founders of the Lutheran, Anglican and Calvinist churches maintained, this setting up of a new Church could not be justified. It was, after all, too serious a business, this restarting of Christianity, if the existing Catholic Church, with its Pope and its Priesthood, its Mass and its body of theology, were not utterly and incurably evil. Rome had gone back on its past, had proved false. The men who in England, as on the Continent, preached the Protestant Reformation were all brought up in the old Church, and—with the exception of Calvin and Melancthon—were Catholic priests who had renounced their priesthood.

The first step was the repudiation of Rome, the denunciation of the Papal authority. And, as Lord Acton wrote more than sixty years ago: ‘The rejection of the primacy of St. Peter has driven men on to a slippery course where all the steps are downward. . . . For the Primacy is the bulwark, or rather the cornerstone, of Catholicism; without it there would be as many churches as there are nations or states. Not one of those who have denounced the Papacy as a usurpation has ever attempted to show that the condition which its absence necessarily involves is theologically desirable, or that it is the will of God. It remains the most radical and conspicuous distinction between the Catholic Church and the sects. Those who attempt to do without it are compelled to argue that there is no earthly office divinely appointed for the government of

the Church, and that nobody has received the mission to conduct ecclesiastical affairs and to preserve the divine order in religion. The several local churches may have an earthly ruler, but for the whole Church of Christ there is no such protection. Christ, therefore, is the only head they acknowledge, and they must necessarily declare separation, isolation, and discord to be a principle and the normal condition of His Church.¹

All this and more Sir Thomas More perceived when the king first bruited the royal supremacy over the Church in England. John, Bishop of Rochester, warned Convocation (1533), not to agree to any royal supremacy, even though limited expressly to 'as far as the law of God allows.' His warnings were unheeded; convocation obeyed the royal summons, a carefully packed House of Commons declared the king head of the Church.

Henry could persuade himself that he did right in abolishing the authority of the Pope and making himself the head of the Church. Rome had done wrong—grievous wrong—in permitting him to marry his brother Arthur's wife. The wrong was manifest, since after twenty years of married life God had refused to bless the marriage by giving a male heir to the king of England. The fault was not in his queen. The marriage never ought to have been allowed. Pope Clement VII could undo the mischief by annulling the marriage, and setting the king free to marry the object of his affections; and the Pope simply declined. Therefore it was clear to the king that the Pope was unfit to rule over England's spiritual destinies. Pope Julius II had done the initial wrong in granting the dispensation. Pope Clement in

¹ *Essays in the History of Freedom.*

declining to reverse that dispensation had proved himself no friend to the king of England. It followed that being no friend, he was an enemy, and no enemy of his should live if the king could help it. It is very common for the self-willed to regard people who disagree with them as their enemies.

As far as the interests of true religion were concerned, the king was amply assured of his ability to rule England in the Pope's stead. His orthodoxy was unimpeachable. Had not the Pope entitled him 'Defender of the Faith'? Moreover, how far, and in what manner, the Pope was the supreme head of the Church had never been defined. In France, by the concordat of Pope Leo X with Francis I, the king was certainly head of the Church. True, the French king had no authority in matters spiritual, but his supremacy in the temporal government of the Church was indisputable—and with lasting and exceedingly hurtful results. Within the empire, princes and electors were assuming in their own territories the headship of the new-fangled Evangelical church of the heretic Martin Luther. Henry would see to it that no such heresy was tolerated in England. He could wink at it in his favourite, Thomas Cranmer, for Cranmer was an ardent advocate of the royal supremacy and a loyal minister to the king's wishes, but there must be no spread of Lutheranism within the realm of England. The idea coquetted with (1537-8) of an alliance with Lutheran princes, came to nothing.

Henry, too, was a son of the Renaissance. Absolute rule was the necessity for a nation that would be strong. The Papal authority meant that an Italian stood above the king of England within the Church; a sovereign power over whom the crown had no jurisdiction. It

was a divided authority, with the crown subordinate; an intolerable position. Absolute rule—and absolutism was a necessity according to the doctrine of the Renaissance—must include the Church within its dominion, and must be responsible for the religion of the king's subjects. Henry anticipated by twenty years the Peace of Augsburg: *cujus regio, ejus religio*. Bishops and abbots, with the lay nobles, supported Henry; not only in his suit for annulling the marriage with Katherine, but in the rejection of the Pope's authority, the establishment of the royal supremacy and the subsequent dissolution of all the religious houses and the suppression of the religious orders. They were king's men, bishops, abbots, lay nobles, in what was evidently a dispute with the Pope. Edmund Bonner was not consecrated to the See of London until he had taken the oath of the royal supremacy. The bulk of the clergy in following suit might well be intimidated by the threat of *praemunire* for accepting the legatine authority of Cardinal Wolsey. The common people of England, *i.e.*, the great majority of the nation, would know nothing of these high affairs of state policy, and would hardly be aware that the allusions to the Pope had been erased from the Missal. The dissolution of the monasteries touched the people in some parts of the country, notably in the north; with the result that an armed rising known as the Pilgrimage of Grace took place. The king bore down all opposition and carried the day. There is scanty evidence, except in the case of Tunstall, that the hierarchy desired the disavowal of Papal authority or the suppression of the monasteries. Gardiner, in Edward VI's reign, expressed his regret for supporting Henry's policy. Tunstall, humanist, scholar, man of letters,

the friend of More and Erasmus, of Bishop Fisher and Pole, was quite in favour of putting away what he called the 'usurped authority' of the 'Bishop of Rome.'

Bishop Fisher, on the other hand, was definitely papal. He would yield neither on the point of the king's divorce nor on the royal supremacy. Therefore he went to the scaffold, denounced as an enemy of the king; to be known and honoured in our own times as Blessed John Fisher. So died also the Carthusian monks and divers clergy, to whom, with Friar Forest, it seemed plain and not to be argued away, that 'the holy Catholic Church was the Church of Rome.'

Two men in England, at least, saw the deep significance of the taking away of the Papal obedience and the setting up of the king's supremacy, Thomas Cranmer and Sir Thomas More. Cranmer, early converted to Lutheranism, married to a niece of a German reformer in defiance of his priesthood, saw that while the Pope was the acknowledged head of the Church it was impossible to carve and reshape the beliefs of Christian men in England as the Protestants were doing on the Continent. The first step towards reform was the royal supremacy. He stood whole-heartedly with Thomas Cromwell in making the sovereign power absolute in the state. Little could be done while Henry lived, but the accession of Edward VI would open the gate—so he wrote to his Protestant friends abroad.

Sir Thomas More discerned no less clearly that to cut off the Church from its obedience to the Papacy was to invite heresy with its strife and faction to settle on the land—with disastrous results. He could but die for the historic faith of Christendom.

(2) *The Bringing in of the 'new religion' under Edward VI*

For the six years of Edward's reign the work of bringing in and establishing the new religion in England went briskly on. The king was entirely favourable. His lay councillors were content to let Cranmer have his way, provided they were allowed to plunder the churches and annex church lands. Henry had whetted the appetite for ecclesiastical property and destroyed the popular strongholds of the faith. Henry's bishops, who had consented to the evil work, now found themselves powerless. The opposition of Gardiner and Bonner to the attack on the Mass and on the traditional Catholic doctrines, which during the preceding thousand years the Church had come to comprehend ever more clearly and to embody with greater fulness in her liturgical and devotional life, was brushed aside. They were imprisoned. From prison Gardiner argued for the Mass with his pen. Royal articles and visitations—declared to possess the authority of Acts of Parliament—sanctioned the work of destruction.

Except in the west, where the men of Devon rose in arms in defence of the old religion and were overthrown, no resistance was made by the people. Where the landowners—the accepted leaders of the English people until the middle of the nineteenth century—were Catholic, the churches were not despoiled, and the faith remained. Evidence of wide indifference to the changes wrought can be seen in the great rising of the men of Norfolk, led by Robert Kett in 1549—the year of the first Prayer-book. Neither in the demands of the rebels nor in their conduct throughout the period when they held their camp on Mousehold Heath by Norwich city,

is there any indication that they favoured or regretted the things being done to set up the new religion and displace the old. No concern is expressed.

In fact, in those places where the religious houses had been strong, England on their destruction lapsed into an indifference that has remained. The parish priests who were seculars were still at their posts. The country parishes that had been vicarages of abbeys and priories had ceased to have a parish priest. In London, once a stronghold of religion, the sectaries of every variety of Protestant belief and unbelief got a footing in Edward's reign. To this day a glance at the map in the Catholic directory shows whole areas, once the seats of famous monasteries, with hardly a church.

To turn England into a Protestant country and create a Protestant ministry, Cranmer sought the help of continental reformers. Cambridge in Henry's time had its students of Lutheranism, its 'Germany,' as it was called, where Parker and other Cambridge scholars meditated on 'the errors of Rome.' At Oxford, too, there had been complaints of heresy when Warham was Archbishop.

To educate ministers for the new religion, Cranmer persuaded Bucer, the married ex-Dominican from Strassbourg, to become professor of divinity at Cambridge, and Peter Martyr (Vermigli), the married ex-Augustinian Canon from Italy, to undertake a similar post at Oxford.

It may be noted that all the ex-priests who built up the Protestant Churches in Germany and in Switzerland, in England and in Scotland, were married. It is not to be inferred—except perhaps in the case of Cranmer himself and John Knox—that they had any special predilection to matrimony. Marriage was a gesture of

contempt for the office they had once held, an announcement to the world that they were not to be regarded as Mass-priests. No doubt it was also a protest against chastity, for the reformers held the vow of chastity in horror. Hooper in 1546 writes to Bullinger at Zurich, lamenting that there must be 'at least 10,000 nuns in England, not one of whom is allowed to marry.' Chastity, with all mortifications and self-denials, belonged to the category of good works. And good works were damnable. Justification by faith alone, the belief that one was saved by believing, was the common doctrine of all Protestants—Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican. The denunciation of good works naturally led to various unhappy results.

Parliament passed the first Prayer-book in 1549, and with it the first Act of Uniformity in religion. The book was a compromise. It allowed vestments and candles at the Holy Communion service which—said in English—it still called the Mass. The parish clergy, leaderless, as in Henry's reign, did their best to preserve the appearances of things. Cranmer had to get bishops of the new learning to destroy the ancient landmarks, and with Bonner in prison, Ridley in charge of the diocese of London, Hooper at Gloucester and the Sees of Rochester, Ely, St. David's, Lincoln and Bath all held by Protestants, the pulling down of altars, the destruction of ornaments, the 'cleansing of the Church from all superstition,' as the pillage was described, swept the cathedrals bare of the tokens of Catholic worship.

Nevertheless the First Prayer-book was unsatisfactory to the leaders of the reform. A revision was necessary. Cranmer, in correspondence with Calvin, and assisted

more especially by Bucer, arranged not only a new Prayer-book but a new ordinal. The main issue in England, as elsewhere, was the Mass. While the Mass was offered the worshippers at heart were Catholic. All that could be done in Edward's reign to abolish the Mass was done. The Holy Communion service in the Second Prayer-book could not be mistaken for the Mass; and nobody did mistake it. Every prayer that revealed the doctrine of the sacrifice of the Mass 'for the living and the dead' was cut out; the canon, with its lists of saints and its invocations, was revised out of recognition. To worship Christ in the Mass was idolatry. All the Catholic rites and ceremonies that pertained to the various seasons—Candlemas, Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter Eve, Corpus Christi and All Souls—were abolished. The only vestment to be worn at all services by the minister was the surplice. And this Second Prayer-book (1552) has remained, with slight and unimportant revisions, the service-book of the Church of England to this day.

The new ordinal, published by the authority of parliament in 1550, is also the ordinal still in use in the Church of England. Cranmer, to prevent any misunderstanding, omitted in drawing up the service what in the sixteenth century was taken as the characteristic act of ordination to the priesthood, the presentation of chalice and paten by the bishop. The new priests of the Church of England were ordained 'to minister the doctrine and sacraments and the discipline of Christ as the Lord hath commanded, and as this church and realm hath received the same.' They were very distinctly not ordained to say Mass. The word 'Mass' and the word 'altar' are not in the Book of Common Prayer. Bishops consecrated

under the new use received neither mitre nor crozier, neither ring nor pectoral cross. And do not receive them at their consecration in the Church of England.

Since the ordinal of the Church of England did not contemplate the ordination of priests to say Mass, the clergy ordained in Edward VI's reign were not recognized as priests by Cardinal Pole. Rome has never recognized the orders conferred in the Church of England for more than what they are: authority to minister in the Church of England.

Cranmer hurried on the work, but he was hampered by the disputes and disagreements of the various schools of Protestants. He had sought in vain under Henry to unite Protestants, and now, with the Council of Trent in session, he again dreamed of Protestant reunion. Hooper, who stood for the doctrine of Zwingli which denied any real presence in the Holy Communion, only consented to become bishop under pressure. Foreign sectaries swarmed in London. All that Blessed Thomas More had foreseen had come to pass. The common faith of England was submerged in the strife. The majority of people went about their work and endured the changes in religion; changes, as Cranmer pointed out, sanctioned in every case by the parliament. Some of the clergy married, to be removed from their benefices under Mary. There is no evidence that any considerable number of the clergy welcomed the new religion. Generally they conformed, waiting for the storm to pass.

(3) *The Return to Catholicity*

Mary Tudor's accession brought back the old order; and in the four years of her reign the religious orders returned and the Mass was said. All the anti-papal

legislation of the reigns of Henry and of Edward was repealed. Prominent men who had been conspicuous in the despoiling of the Church and in forwarding the new religion were reconciled to the faith. The sectaries, the fanatical preachers, and certain of Edward's bishops who did not flee to the Continent—every facility was given to allow departure from England—died for the Protestant Church. This burning of bishops discouraged the Catholic cause in England. There was no precedent for burning a bishop at the stake, and it shocked people. Had Mary executed Cranmer for treason, as she might well have done, his fate would have attracted no pity. Had she put Hooper, Latimer and Ridley in prison, as Edward's council had put Gardiner and Bonner, and as Elizabeth put the Catholic hierarchy, no one would have complained. As for the majority of the Protestant martyrs, a Cambridge scholar, Mr. C. H. Smyth, has recently pointed out in his book on Cranmer (1926) that the death of Edward VI 'left the whole country seething with Anabaptists, Arians, Marcionists, Davi-georgians, heretics and sectaries of every description. . . At least two-thirds of the martyrs who were burned by Queen Mary would almost undoubtedly, had Edward VI survived, been burnt in the normal course by the Church of England.' The burning of bishops struck at the respect for authority. Queen Elizabeth might burn Unitarians—notably a Cambridge deacon named Kett, descended from the Norfolk rebel. Unitarians were burnt under James I. Anabaptists and Unitarians were outside the pale.

Philip of Spain was against the persecution of Protestants. Many of the bishops allowed no burnings in their dioceses. The wild and fanatical Protestant sectaries

made the position difficult. Cranmer, Hooper, Latimer and Ridley, convinced that the Pope was Antichrist and the Mass idolatry, were not to be turned from their convictions. Cranmer's dilemma was appalling. He had staked everything on the royal supremacy, had done nothing without the approval of the government; he had placed in the crown the sole allegiance of Christian men. And now the crown repudiated the royal supremacy, ordered allegiance to the Pope, and declared the doctrine of the Mass and of Transubstantiation to be true. Cranmer wavered, recanted, and then at the end found that he still believed in Protestantism, and so died. Cranmer is the predominant figure in the work of disruption in England. It is impossible to say exactly what he believed concerning the sacrament of the altar. He was silent on Transubstantiation while Henry lived, then for a time was apparently Zwinglian, till, falling under Bucer's influence, he accepted the doctrine of the Strassbourg school. The stark outlines of Protestant sacramental doctrine are clear: the Lutheran, consecration—Christ's body really present and the bread not absent: the Zwinglian, no presence of Christ, but a commemoration of His death that brought grace: the Calvinist, Christ present to the faithful receiver, and the presence depending not on the words of consecration but on the state of grace of the recipient. This compromise was something that combined the Lutheran doctrine with Zwinglian and was quite unintelligible: except to Cranmer. It helps to account for the vagueness of Anglican formularies.¹

¹ On the probable origin of the term 'Suvermerian,' which has been brought into the discussion in this connection, see Prof. Janelle's note, published by Prof. A. F. Pollard in the *Times Literary Supplement*, for June 30, 1927 (p. 456).

If the return of England to Catholicity was hindered by the fires of Smithfield—and the highly illuminated pages of Foxe kept these fires burning for many generations—the new nobility, enriched by the spoils of the Church, were dismayed by Mary's desire to restore the lands of the religious orders. It was one thing to ask for submission to what was after all the ancient faith of Englishmen; it was another matter to suggest impoverishment for the sake of that faith. No parliament would authorize any undoing of the confiscations. No parliament of landowners would even make inquisition of title-deeds. But the suggestion and the knowledge that the queen was anxious to make restitution spread an uncomfortable feeling. Protestantism rejoiced in the abolition of monasteries and convents, and was content that the lands and buildings once set apart for ever for the worship of God should be in the hands of private persons. Catholicism could not regard the matter quite in that light. To the landowners in possession this difference in outlook provided a strong argument for the new religion.

(4) *The Elizabethan Settlement*

If the separation from the Papacy under Henry VIII was largely the work of the hierarchy, the establishment by law of the new Church of England under Elizabeth was done by laymen. A return to the position in Henry's reign was impossible. The hierarchy of Henry, now that the mischief had been done, saw as plainly as did Matthew Parker and the Protestants who now swarmed back from Strassbourg, Zurich, Frankfurt and Geneva, that with the repudiation of the Papacy went the repudiation of the Mass, and all Catholic

doctrine and practice not defined in the first six centuries, or revealed to Protestant eyes in the New Testament.

Elizabeth, by calling Protestants to her council, showed at once the policy to be pursued. The first parliament (1558-9) repealed the Marian legislation, abolished the Papal supremacy, restored the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI with the Edwardian ordinal, dissolved the religious houses set up under Mary, giving their property to the crown, and granting pensions to all their members who would accept the new prayer-book.

While Elizabeth's council, Matthew Parker and the Anglicans who had returned from the Continent, mostly Calvinist or Zwinglian in doctrine, were busy setting in order the Church which parliament had substituted for the Church of the old religion, Catholics were left without guidance. The hierarchy of Henry would not consent to the new order, and passed into prison. Of the Catholic clergy—statistics are impossible; it would be fairly safe to say that of 8000 nearly 1000 resigned or were deprived. Many Catholics formally attended the new service in their parish church, and heard Mass privately elsewhere. Priests even conducted the Protestant services and said Mass for the faithful. The Council of Trent decided that it was unlawful for Catholics to attend the heretical services in England; the Catholic priests on the English mission later succeeded in enforcing the brief of Pope Pius V, positively forbidding attendance. In the years 1560-70 England was lost to the faith. Lack of clergy, lack of guidance, compromise with the new order, help to explain the loss. Rome and Philip of Spain refrained from any show of hostility to Elizabeth, trusting to time to bring recon-

ciliation. Elizabeth played with them till the Catholic cause in England was lost. To those doubtful of the validity of Anglican orders the parliament of 1566 declared that the Edwardian ordinal was 'good lawful and perfect' for the ordination of the ministry; which settled the question—or should have done so.

Not until 1570 was Queen Elizabeth excommunicated by Pope Pius V, and then against the advice of the Emperor and Philip of Spain. The English parliament replied by making it high treason to declare the queen a heretic, or to receive any bull from Rome. But the active persecution of Catholics hardly begins before 1581, the year of the Act making it high treason to convert to the old religion, and felony to say or hear Mass—the year of Blessed Edmund Campion's death.

The decade 1560–1570 are the years of the decline. The next decade 1570–1580 is the period when the Church of England is consolidated, the religion of Anglicans, as Archbishop Parker maintained (1573), 'established by public authority,' the disruption completed. It is also the heroic period of the counter-reformation. One religion and one only could be officially tolerated, if England was to be a strong and united nation. Catholics were not to be recognized. Calvinists, Lutherans, Zwinglians—all could be accommodated in the Church of England. Parker himself may be judged nearer the Lutheran standard; but Grindal, a refugee from Strassbourg, who succeeded him at Canterbury, was outspokenly Calvinist. Both Parker and Grindal claimed that the Church of England was a Church for 'honest Protestants.'

From the Anglican Thirty-nine Articles, from the formularies, homilies and canons issued in 1571 and

1576, all was excluded in Christian worship and belief that could not by the compilers be directly found in use in the first six centuries. Continuity with the Church of the Middle Ages was emphatically repudiated. Bishop Jewel, in his classic 'Apology' for the Church of England, which Archbishop Parker ordered to be placed in the Churches by the side of the Book of Common Prayer, refuses all suggestion of continuity. The Church of England claimed that it was truly catholic—as did the other branches of the Protestant Church, Presbyterian in Scotland and Lutheran in Germany and Scandinavia—because it held to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation expressed in the creeds called Nicene and Athanasian. It denounced in its articles—as it does to this day—papal jurisdiction, indulgences, invocations of saints, transubstantiation, purgatory and the sacrifice of the Mass, and gave its clergy permission to marry. It removed from the churches and cathedrals whatever survived of the old service-books, vestments, and ornaments, and ordered them to be destroyed. The Church of England from the first was comprehensive enough for representatives of all schools of Protestants, and it has retained them to this day. The Calvinists were the driving force, and, known as Puritans, the fiercest in their hate of Rome. But to many Calvinists the supreme authority of the crown in matters of religion was a scandal, a greater scandal than bishops or the surplice ordered for the minister. A further disruption occurred half-a-century later, when the Calvinists took up arms and, led by a brilliant cavalry commander, Oliver Cromwell, succeeded in capturing the Church of England, only to be in turn dispossessed at the Restoration. Heresy, as always,

begot fresh heresies. The disruption that followed the departure from the Papal unity has left England in perplexed confusion as to the meaning of the word 'Church,' in doubt that divine authority can reside in the Church.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY.

- H. N. BIRT, O.S.B.: *Elizabethan Religious Settlement* (George Bell & Son).
- T. E. BRIDGETT, C.S.S.R.: *Life and Writings of Blessed Thomas More* (Burns Oates and Washbourne).
- R. W. DIXON: *History of the Church of England* (Smith, Elder and Co., 1878).
- JAMES GAIRDNER: *Lollardy and the Reformation in England* (Macmillan).
- Card. GASQUET, O.S.B., and E. BISHOP: *Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer* (John Hodges, London).
- J. JEWEL: *Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana* (1562): *Apology for the Church of England* (1564).
- A. O. MEYER: *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth* (Kegan Paul).
- PARKER SOCIETY publications (Cambridge University Press).
- J. H. POLLEN, S.J., *English Catholics in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Longmans).
- PROCTER and FRERE: *New History of the Book of Common Prayer* (MacMillan).
- R. SIMPSON: *Edmund Campion* (1866).
- C. H. SMYTH: *Cranmer and the Reformation under Edward VI* (Cambridge University Press).
- J. STRYPE: *Annals* (Clarendon Press): *Memorials of Thomas Cranmer* (1694: 1848-1854: 1853): *Life and Acts of Matthew Parker* (1711).

SELECT CATHOLIC BIBLIOGRAPHY.

(1) *Treatises on the Church*

- BISHOP D'HERBIGNY, S.J.: *Theologica de Ecclesia*: 2 vols. (Paris, Beauchesne).
- H. DIECKMANN, S.J.: *De Ecclesia: tractatus historico-dogmatici*: 2 vols. (Herder).
- A. D. SERTILLANGES, O.P.: *The Church*: Eng. transl: (Burns Oates and Washbourne).
- E. S. BERRY, D.D.: *The Church of Christ* (Herder).
- P. FINLAY, S.J.: *The Church of Christ* (Longmans).
- MGR. R. H. BENSON: *Christ in the Church* (Longmans).

(2) *Apologetics*

- CARD. BELLARMINE: *De Controversiis*.
- R. GARRIGOU-LAGRANGE, O.P.: *The Principles of Catholic Apologetics*: Eng. transl. (Sands).
- W. DEVIVIER, S.J.: *Christian Apologetics*: Eng. transl. 2 vols. (Herder).
- F. SCHANZ: *A Christian Apology*: Engl. transl., 3 vols. (Dublin, Gill).
- ARCHBISHOP SHEEHAN: *Apologetics* (Dublin, Gill).
- C. C. MARTINDALE, S.J.: *The Faith of the Roman Church* (Methuen).
- DOM JOHN CHAPMAN, O.S.B.: *Bishop Gore and Catholic Claims* (Longmans).
- VINCENT McNABB, O.P.: *Infallibility* (Sheed and Ward).

(3) *Church and State*

- CARD. HERGENRÖTHER: *Catholic Church and Christian State*: Eng. transl.: 2 vols. (Burns Oates and Washbourne).
- JOHN RYAN, D.D., LL.D., and M. MILLAR, S.J.: *The State and the Church* (MacMillan).

POPE LEO XIII: *The Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII* (containing the encyclical *Immortale Dei*, on the Christian constitution of States): Engl. transl. (New York: Benziger Bros.).

Raccolta di Concordati tra la Santa Sede e le Autorità Civili (Vatican Press).

(4) *Allied Subjects*

VINCENT McNABB, O.P.: *The Catholic Church and Philosophy* (Burns Oates and Washbourne).

L. WARD: *The Catholic Church and the Appeal to Reason* (do.).

SIR BERTRAM WINDLE, F.R.S.: *The Catholic Church in Relation to Science* (do.).

H. BELLOC: *The Catholic Church and History* (do.).

G. K. CHESTERTON: *The Catholic Church and Conversion* (do.).

A. VERMEERSCH, S.J.: *Tolerance*: Engl. transl. (do.).

A. VON RUVILLE: *Back to Holy Church*: Engl. transl. (Longmans).

C. S. DEVAS: *The Key to the World's Progress* (Longmans).

H. A. AYRINHAC, S.S., D.D., D.C.L.: *General Legislation in the New Code of Canon Law*, and the other volumes of the series (New York, Blase Benzinger).

(5) *History*

P. GUILDAY, Ph.D.: *An Introduction to Church History* (Herder).

G. STEBBING, C.S.S.R.: *The Story of the Catholic Church* (Sands): *The Church in England* (do.).

T. GILMARTIN: *A Manual of Church History*: 2 vols. (Burns Oates and Washbourne).

S. CUNNINGTON, M.A.: *A Book of Church History* (Longmans).

Mgr. P. BATIFFOL: *Primitive Catholicism*: Engl. transl. (do.).

- J. MACCAFFREY, Ph.D.: *History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution* : 2 vols. (Dublin, Gill): *History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century* : 2 vols. (do.).
- M. V. HAY: *A Chain of Error in Scottish History* (of general value as an object-lesson: Longmans).

(6) *Eastern and Protestant*

- A. FORTESCUE, D.D.: *The Orthodox Eastern Church* (C.T.S.): *The Lesser Eastern Churches* (C.T.S.): *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (Burns Oates and Washbourne).
- Mgr. L. DUCHESNE: *The Churches separated from Rome* : Engl. transl. (Kegan Paul).
- F. WOODLOCK, S.J.: *The Reformation and the Eucharist* (Sheed and Ward).
- J. CLAYTON, F.R.Hist.S.: *The Historic Basis of Anglicanism* (Sands): *Continuity in the Church of England* (Sheed and Ward).
- L. WALKER, S.J.: *Reunion* (Harding and More).

(7) *General*

- CARD. NEWMAN: *The Development of Christian Doctrine*, and other works (Longmans).
- Dictionnaire Apologétique de la Foi Catholique* : 4 vols.: nearly completed (Paris, Beauchesne).
- The Summer School Series, uniform with the present volume, especially *The Papacy*.

INDEX.

- AARON, 2
 Abraham, 7 sq., 71, 155, 158
 Act of Uniformity, 280
Acta et scripta quae de contro-
versiis Ecclesiae Graecae et
Latinae saec. XI composita
extant, 270
 Acton, 273
Acts, 7, 19 sq., 29, 31, 32 n.,
 38-56, 59, 64, 67 n., sqq., 135,
 200 sq.
 Adam, 37
 Adeodatus, 237
 Aeneas, 251 n.
 Africa, 108, 118, 122, 125, 128,
 148, 213 sqq., 240, 243
 Africans, 106, 109, 220, 230
Afrique Chrétienne, 214 n., 217 n.
 Agatho, 208
 Alaric, 115
 Alexander of Hales, vii
 Alexandria, 118 sqq., 125, 242,
 252 sq.
Alexis Comnène, 270
 Alypius, 220, 236
 Anabaptists, 283
 Ananias, 39, 201
 Anastasius, Emperor, 241
 Anastasius Bibliothecarius, 253
 sq.
 Anglicans, ix, 134, 191, 273, 286
 Anglo-Catholics, 89
 Anglo-Saxons, 126, 166
 Antichrist, 259, 284
Antichrist, 26 n.
 Antioch, 45, 118 sq., 125, 242,
 252 sq., 263
Apocalypse, 26 n., 27, 43, 53 sq.,
 70 n., 199
 Apollinarians, 160
Apologia pro Ecclesia Anglicana,
 290
Apology for the Church of Eng-
land, 288, 290
 Apostles, 19 sq., 28 sqq., 58 sq.,
 64 sqq., 148, 155 sqq., 175 sqq.,
 196 sqq.
Apostolicae Curae, ix
 Aptunga, 226
 Apulia, 262 n.
 Arendzen, vi
 Arethas, 259
 Arianism (Arians), 119, 122,
 220, 240, 283
 Aristotle, 188
 Arles, 125, 226
 — Council of, 214, 240
 Armenia, 125 sq.
 Armenians, 265
 Arthur Tudor, 274
 Articles, Thirty-nine, 133, 287
 Asbestos, Gregory, 248, 252, 255
 Ascension, 62, 72
 Asia, 38, 54, 108, 187, 213, 242
 Athanasian Creed, 288
 Athanasius, St., 112, 153, 190,
 220
 Athenagoras, 152
 Augsburg, 133, 276
 Augustine, St., 108, 116, 121,
 126, 161, 178, 182, 186, 213-
 239
 Aurelius, 236
 Ayrinhac, 292
 BAAL, 84
Back to Holy Church, 292
 Bagdad, 259 n.
 Balkan States, 268
 Baptism, vi, 36, 48, 67, 71, 115,
 145, 204 n., 211, 214, 229 sqq.
 Bardas, Emperor, 248 sq., 252
 Barnabas, St., 44 sqq., 178

- Basil I, 249 *sqq.*
 Basil II, 262 *n.*, 265 *n.*
Basile Ier, 270
 Bath, 280
 Batifol, 129, 239, 292
 Beccus (Veccus), 265
 Bellarmine, Bl. Card., 291
 Bellini, Gentile, 265 *n.*
 Belloc, 292
 Benedict, St., 129
 Benedict VIII, 262 *n.*, 264
 Benedict XV, 174
 Beneventum, 252, 263
 Bennigsen, xi
 Benson, 291
 Berry, 291
Bestand der Kirchen des Orients,
 271
 Bethlehem, Council of, 269
 Billot, 191
 Bishop, E., 290
Bishop Gore and Catholic Claims,
 291
 Bogaris, 249
 Boniface VIII, 127
 Bonner, 276 *sq.*, 280, 283
Book of Church History, 292
 Boris, 253
 Bossuet, 140
 Bourne, Card., x
 Bréhier, 270
 Bridgett, 290
British Museum Guide to the
Antiquities of Roman Britain,
 215 *n.*
 Bucer, 279 *sq.*, 284
 Bulgakov, 136 *sq.*
 Bulgaria, 249 *sqq.*
 Bullinger, 280
 Byzantine Church, 261
 Byzantium, 243, 247

 CABARSUSSIS, Council of, 224 *n.*
 Caecilian, 213 *sqq.*, 226 *sq.*
 Callinicos, 270
 Calvin, 186, 272 *sq.*, 280
 Calvinists, 139, 273, 288
 Cambridge, 279, 283
 Cambridge Bible Congress, xi *sq.*
 Campion, Bl. Edmund, 287
 Cappadocia, 108
 Carneades, 233
 Carthage, 101, 214 *sqq.*, 226,
 227 *n.*, 234 *sqq.*
Catholic Church and Christian
State, 291
Catholic Church and Conversion,
 292
Catholic Church and History, 292
Catholic Church and Philosophy,
 292
Catholic Church and the Appeal
to Reason, 292
Catholic Church in Relation to
Science, 292
Catholic Encyclopedia, 140 *n.*
Catholicisme de St. Augustin, 239
 Caucasus, 115
 Celestine I, St., 116, 208
Chain of Error in Scottish His-
tory, 293
 Chalandon, 270
 Chalcedon, 252
 — Council of, 119 *sq.*, 206, 208,
 241
 Chapman, vii, 291
 Charon (Karolewski), 270
 Chesterton, III, 292
 Chillingworth, 139
Christian Apologetics, 291
Christian Apology, 291
Christ in the Church, 291
 Chrysostom, St., 116
Church, The, 291
Churches separated from Rome,
 293
 Church of England, 89, 267, 272,
 274, 281 *sq.*, 285, 287 *sq.*
Church in England, 292
Church Life in North Africa, 239
Church of Christ (Berry), 291
Church of Christ (Finlay), 291
 Cilicia, 42
 Cirta (Constantine), 214 *n.*, 215
 Claudianists, 223
 Clayton, 293
 Clement VII, 274

- Clement of Alexandria, 152 sq.
 Clement of Rome, St., 43 sq.,
 48, 94 sq., 147
 Cluny, 262 n.
 Cobham, 270
Code of Canon Law, 202, 204 n.,
 sqq., 210
 Code of Justinian, 117
Colossians, 50 sq., 57 n., 60 n.,
 62 n., sqq., 70 n.
 Columban, St., 126
 Constans, 241
 Constantine, 101, 112, 216, 240,
 242
 Constantine Manasses, 260
 Constantine Monomachus, 263
 Constantine Porphyrogenitus,
 259
 Constantinople, 114, 119, 124,
 126, 128, 240 sqq.
 — First Council of (Second
 General Council), 112, 119
 — Second Council of (Fifth
 General Council), 193, 244
 — Third Council of (Sixth
 General Council), 184, 208,
 244
 — Fourth Council of (Eighth
 General Council), 253 sq.,
 257
 Constantius, 216
Continuity in the Church of
England, 293
 Corinth, 44, 80
Corinthians, 40, 48 sqq., 60 n.,
 62 n., sqq., 70 n., sq., 201 sq.
 Cornelius, 41, 135, 145
 Corsica, 123
 Cranmer, 273, 275, 277 sqq.
Cranmer and the Reformation
under Edward VI, 290
 Cresconius, 229 n.
 Crispinus, 219
 Cromwell, Oliver, 288
 Cromwell, Thomas, 277
 Crusade, Fourth, 264
 Cunnington, 292
 Cyril of Lucar, 266
 Cyril of Alexandria, St., 116
 Cyril of Jerusalem, St., 116,
 153 sq., 160
 Cyprian, St., 97 sqq., 118, 147 sq.,
 152 sq., 182, 187, 244
 DAMASUS, St., 116
Daniel, 13, 23
Das Papsttum und Byzanz, 262 n.
 David, 2, 13, 22 sq.
 Davigeorgians, 283
 De Boor, 261 n.
De Controversiis, 291
De Corpore et Sanguine Domini,
 vii
De Ecclesia Christi, 192
De Ecclesia : tractatus historico-
dogmatici, 291
 Denzinger, ix, 140
Destruction of the Greek Empire,
 271
De Unitate, 99 sq., 148
 Devas, 292
Development of Christian Doc-
trine, 293
 Devivier, 291
 D'Herbigny, 174, 291
Dictionnaire Apologétique de la
Foi Catholique, ix, 293
Dictionnaire de Théologie Catho-
lique, 129
 Dieckmann, 189, 291
 Diehl, 270
 Diocletian persecution, 213, 215
 Dionysius Exiguus, 244 n.
 Dioscorus, 208
 Dixon, 290
 Donaldson, 239
 Donatism (Donatists), 107, 161,
 213-239, 240
 Donatus, 213 sqq.
Dossier du Donatisme, 217 n.
 Downey, vii
Dublin Review, 239
 Duchesne, 117, 217, 270, 293
 Dudden, 129
 EDINBURGH, 198
 Edward VI, 276 sqq., 286

- Edward VI and the Book of Common Prayer*, 290
Eglise byzantine de 527 à 820, 270
Eglises séparées, 270
 Egypt, 10 sq., 148, 242
 Elizabeth, 272, 283, 285 sqq.
Elizabethan Religious Settlement, 290
 Ely, 280
 Emeritus, 237
 Emmanuel, 23, 37
 Emir of Crete, 259 n.
 Encyclopaedists, 150
 England, 139, 176, 187, 272, 275 sqq.
England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth, 290
English Catholics in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, 290
Ephesians, 50 sqq., 60 n., sqq., 145, 164, 181
 Ephesus, 44
 — Council of, 241
 Ephraim, 260
 Epiphanius, St., 182
 Epirus, 243
Épopée Byzantine, 270
 Erasmus, 185, 277
Essays in the History of Freedom, 274 n.
Études sur l'hist. Byz., 270
 Eucharist, Holy, viii, 36, 142, 195, 263
 Euthymius of Constantinople, St., 261 n.
 Euthymius of Macedonia, St., 259 n., 261 n., 262
 Europe, 111, 163, 213, 245, 272
Europe et le S. Siège, Jean VIII, 270
 Extreme Unction, 211
Ezechiel, 15

Faith of the Roman Church, 291
 Ferrère, 239
Figures Byzantines, 270
Filioque, 137, 250, 258, 264
 Finlay, 291
 Firmilian, 107 sqq.
 Fisher, Bl. John, 277
 Florence, 265
 — Council of, 246
 Forest, Bl. John, 277
 Fortescue, 239, 270, 293
 Fortunatianus, 237
 Fortunatus, 237
 Fortunius, 219 sqq.
 Foxe, 285
 France, 262 n., 275
 Francis I, 275
 Frankfurt, 133, 285
 Franks, 122
 Frere, 290
 Fundamental Articles, 140 n.

 GABRIEL, 23
 Gairdner, 290
Galatians, 42 sq., 45, 50, 63 n., sq.
 Gallicanism (Gallicans), 184, 187, 191
 Gardiner, 276 sq., 283
 Garrigou-Lagrange, 291
 Gasquet, Card., 290
 Gaudentius, 222, 237
 Gaul, 38, 115, 122, 125, 251, 264
 Geddes, vii
 Gedeon, 261 n.
 Gelasius, 127
 Gelzer, 247
General Legislation in the New Code of Canon Law, 292
 Genesios, 259 sq.
 Geneva, 133, 285
 Genseric, 113, 115
 Gentiles, 12, 17, 27, 63, 160
 George the Sinner, 260
 Germany, 288
 Gerson, 184
 Gibbon, 124
 Gilmartin, 292
 Gloucester, 280
 Gnostics, 39, 95 sq., 110
 Goths, 113, 127 sq.
Great Encyclical Letters of Leo XIII, 292
 Greece, 243, 255 n., 266
 Greek Church, 247, 266

- Greek Orthodox Church*, 271
 Gregory I, St., 111 *sqq.*
 Gregory III, St., 255
 Gregory VII, St., 127
 Gregory XVI, 174
 Gregory Asbestos, 248, 252, 255
 Gregory Nazianzen, St., 153
 Gregory of Tours, St., 125
Gregory the Great, his place in history and thought, 129
 Grimley, vii
 Grindal, 287
 - Guilday, 292

 HADRIAN I, 247, 253 *sq.*
 Harnack, 21, 151 *sqq.*
 Hay, 293
Hebrews, 63 n., *sqq.*, 71 n., 73 n., 190
 Henry II, St., Emperor, 262 n., 264
 Henry III, Emperor, 262 n.
 Henry VIII, 272 *sqq.*
 Heraclitus, 188
 Heraclius, 241
 Hergenröther, 270, 291
 Hermas, 95, 160
 Hilary, St., 116 *sq.*
 Hildebrand (St. Gregory VII), 127
 Hippo, 218 n., 219, 225
Histoire de Variations des Eglises protestantes, 140
Histoire Littéraire de l'Afrique Chrétienne, 214 n., 217 n., 239
Historic Basis of Anglicanism, 293
History of the Catholic Church from the Renaissance to the French Revolution, 293
History of the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century, 293
History of the Church of England, 290
History of the Russian Church, 270
 Holy Roman Empire, 125
 Homer, 25
 Hooper, 280, 282 *sqq.*

 Horace, 185
 Hormisdas, 244 n., 254

 ICONOCLASM, 246
 Idumaea, 159
 Ignatius of Antioch, St., 48, 94 *sq.*, 101, 110, 147, 152, 159
 Ignatius, St., Patriarch of Constantinople, 248, 252 *sqq.*
 Illyricum, 118, 243
 Immaculate Conception, 137
Immortale Dei, v, 292
 Incarnation, 73 *sq.*, 120, 288
Infallibility, 291
 Infallibility of the Pope, vii
 Ingelberta, 252
 Innocent I, St., 116
 Innocent III, 264
 Inquisition, 121
Introduction to Church History, 292
 Ireland, 126
 Irenaeus, St., 38, 95 *sq.*, 110, 147 *sq.*, 152, 181
 Isaac Comnenus, 263
Isaiah, 12 *sqq.*, 23
 Israel, 1 *sqq.*, 25 n., 27, 35, 156, 158
Is Schism Lawful? 206 n.
 Italy, 113, 123, 127 *sq.*, 249, 253, 255, 262 n., 263, 279
 Ivo of Chartres, St., 257

 JACOB, 17
 Jacobites, 268 *sq.*
 James, St., 43 *sqq.*
 — *Epistle of*, 48, 64 n.
 James I, 283
 Janelle, 284 n.
 Jansenists, 186 *sq.*
 Jehovah (Yahweh), 2, 11, 13, 15 *sq.*, 23
Jeremias, 11, 60 n.
 Jerome, St., 182, 238 n.
 Jerusalem, 10, 15 *sq.*, 21 *sq.*, 25 n., *sq.*, 30 n., 39, 41 *sqq.*, 119, 148, 242, 253
 — Council of, 42, 45, 145
 Jewel, 288, 290

- Jews, 1 *sqq.*, 22, 24, 27, 40 *sq.*,
43, 45 *sq.*, 50 *sq.*, 63, 155 *sqq.*,
198, 246
- Joel, 15
- John, St., 43, 49, 53, 55, 96
- *Gospel of*, xi, 28 *sq.*, 34 *sq.*,
52 *sq.*, 55, 59 *n.*, 63 *n.*, *sq.*,
67 *n.*, 70 *n.*, *sqq.*, 142 *sq.*, 155,
157 *sq.*, 180, 192, 199
- John VIII, 255 *sqq.*
- John XI, 262 *n.*
- John XIX, 262 *n.*
- John, Bp. of Rochester, 274
- John Palaeologus, 265
- John the Baptist, St., xi, 22, 68,
71
- John the Faster, 125
- John Zonaras, 260
- Jona, 32 *sq.*
- Joseph, Patriarch, 265
- Joshua, 2
- Joyce, 140 *n.*
- Juda, 11
- Judaea, 10, 21, 41
- Judas, 34, 178, 221
- Jude, St., 62 *n.*
- Julian the Apostate, 214 *n.*, 216
- Julius I, St., 220
- Julius II, 274
- Julius, Emperor, 266
- Julius Africanus, 242
- Jurieu, 139
- Jus Canonium*, 205 *n.*
- Justin, 241
- Justin, St., 93, 95, 152
- Justinian I, 120, 128, 255
- *Code of*, 117
- Justinian II, 244
- KARELEWSKI (Charon), 270
- Katherine of Arragon, 276
- Keating, Archbp., xi
- Kephas, 32, 46
- Kett, 283
- Kett, Robert, 278
- Key to the World's Progress*, 292
- Kiew, 265, 267
- Knox, 279
- Koran, 266
- Krumbacher, 247
- LABRIOLLE, 216 *n.*, *sq.*
- Lambeth Appeal, 134
- Laodicea, 252
- Lapôtre, 270
- Latimer, 283 *sq.*
- Latin Christianity*, 216 *n.*, *sq.*
- Leander, St., 125
- Leo I, St., 111–129, 206, 208
- Leo III, St., 243
- Leo IX, St., 262 *n.*, 263 *sq.*
- Leo X, 275
- Leo XIII, v, ix, 174, 292
- Leo III (the Isaurian), 246, 255 *n.*
- Leo VI (the Wise), 246, 258,
260 *sqq.*
- Leo, Bp. of Achrida, 263
- Leo Allatius, 247
- Leo Grammaticus, 260
- Léon, S., 129
- Lesser Eastern Churches*, 293
- Levites, 2, 9
- Liberalism, 136
- Life and Acts of Matthew Parher*,
290
- Life and Writings of Blessed
Thomas More*, 290
- Lives of the Popes*, 262 *n.*, 270
- Loisy, 21
- Lollarđy and the Reformation in
England*, 290
- Lombards, 122 *sqq.*, 128
- London, 276, 279 *sq.*, 282
- Louis the German, 252 *sq.*
- Lucilla, 215
- Luke, St., 21, 23 *sq.*, 25 *n.*,
26 *sqq.*, 34, 58 *n.*, 59, 68 *n.*, *sqq.*
73 *n.*, 156 *sqq.*
- Luther, 172, 185, 272, 275
- Lutherans, 139, 273, 275, 277
- Lyons, Council of, 265
- MACCAFFREY, 293
- Macedonia, 243, 255 *n.*
- Machabees, 2
- Maguire, 206 *n.*

- Mahomet II, 265 *n.*
 Mahomatans, 246, 264
 Majorinus, 214
Malachy, 6, 17
 Manichees, 218, 231
 Mann, 262 *n.*, 270
 Manning, Card., 146, 190
Manual of Church History, 292
 Marcellinus, 236 *n.*, 237 *sq.*
 Marcellus, 214 *n.*
 Marcian, 241
 Marcianus, 109 *sq.*
 Marcionists, 283
 Marcionites, 160
 Marinus, 258
Mark, St., 25 *n.*, 27 *sqq.*, 58 *n.*,
 sq., 67 *n.*, *sqq.*, 72 *n.*, 157, 159,
 171
 Martindale, vi, 291
 Mary, Queen, 282 *sqq.*, 286
 Mary Queen of Scots, 198
 Matrimony, vi, 211, 279
Matthew, St., 4, 21, 25 *n.*,
 26 *sqq.*, 33, 58 *n.*, *sq.*, 62 *n.*,
 64 *n.*, 66 *n.*, *sqq.*, 155, 157 *sqq.*,
 168, 171, 186, 189, 193,
 197 *sqq.*, 202
 Matthias, *St.*, 178, 181
 Maximianists, 223 *sq.*
 McNabb, 291 *sq.*
 Megalius, 232
 Melanchthon, 273
Memorials of Thomas Cranmer,
 290
 Mensurius, 213 *sqq.*
 Messiah, 1, 6, 9, 13 *sqq.*, 20, 23,
 35, 40, 59, 156
 Metrophanes, 257
 Mexico, x
 Meyer, 290
 Michael, *St.*, 55
 Michael III, Emperor, 248 *sqq.*,
 259 *sq.*
 Michael Cerularius, 240, 262 *n.*
 Michael Glycas, 260
 Michael Palaeologus, 265
 Milan, 216, 226
 Millar, 291
Miserere, 54
 Modernism (Modernists), 31, 136,
 187
 Moesia, 255
 Monarchianism (Monarchians),
 96, 105
 Monceaux, 214 *n.*, 217 *n.*, 239
 Monophysites, 120, 241
 Montanus, 237
 More, Bl. Thomas, 274, 277, 282
Mortalium animos, viii
 Moscow, 259 *n.*, 267
 Moses, 2 *sqq.*
 Mouravieff, 270
 Mousehold Heath, 278
Muratorian Fragment, 153
 Mystical Body, vii, x, 49
 NABUCHODONOSOR, 13
 Nestorians, 241, 268
 Nestorius, 92, 208
New History of the Book of
 Common Prayer, 290
 Newman, Card., 134, 185, 212,
 239, 293
 Nicaea, First Council of, 112,
 118 *sq.*, 240, 242
 — Second Council of (Seventh
 General Council), 247
 Nicene Creed, 130, 288
Nicéphore Phocas, 270
 Nicetas, 257, 259
 Nicholas I, *St.*, 249 *sqq.*
 Nicholas III, 265
 Nicholas the Mystic, 259, 262
 Nikon, 267 *n.*
 Nilus, 257
Nomocanon, 257, 267
 Nonconformists, 134
 Norden, 262 *n.*
 Normans, 263
 Norwich, 278
 Novatian heresy, 109
 Numidia, 215
On the Unity of the Catholic
 Church, 153
 Optatus, *St.*, 214 *sqq.*, 222 *sq.*
 Orders, vi, 94, 178
 — Anglican, ix, 287

- Ordinations anglicanes*, ix
 Oriental Churches, 136
 Origen, 152 sq.
Orthodox Eastern Church, 270,
 293
 Oxford, 279

 PACIAN, St., 160
 Palestine, 3, 21, 27, 33, 58, 125,
 148
 Pan-Slavism, 136
Papacy, vii, 293
 Papadopoulos (Kerameus), 257,
 261 n.
 Pargoire, 270
 Parker, 279, 285 sqq.
 Parker Society Publications, 290
 Parmenides, 188
 Patinos, 62
Patriarchs of Constantinople, 271
 Paul, St., 12, 26 n., 32 n.,
 42 sqq., 49 sqq., 55, 57, 60 sqq.,
 73, 79, 85, 95, 108, 114, 145,
 164, 176, 178, 181, 189 sq.,
 196 sq., 201 sq.
 Pears, 271
 Penance, Sacrament of, 209 sqq.
 Pentecost, 15, 25 n., 62, 162, 179
 Perrone, 190
 Peter, St., 7, 15, 32 sqq., 38,
 41 sqq., 53, 55, 59, 86, 95 sq.,
 103, 107 sq., 110, 114, 116, 119,
 128, 140 sqq., 145, 178 sq.,
 181, 185 sq., 188, 193, 197 sqq.,
 201, 206, 229, 232, 241, 254,
 269, 272 sq.
 — Epistles of, 53, 64 n.
 Peter Martyr (Vermigli), 279
 Peter of St. Chrysogonus, Card.,
 256
 Peter the Great, 267
 Petilianus, 227, 237
Petits Bollandistes, 261 n.
Petri Privilegium, 190, 192
 Pharisees, 4 sq., 24, 28
Philemon, 42
 Philip of Spain, 283, 286 sq.
 Philip the Deacon, St., 41
Philippians, 63 n.
 Philippopolis, Council of, 257,
 261 n.
 Photius, vii sq., 167, 247 sqq.
Photius, 270
 Pilate, 64
 Pilgrimage of Grace, 276
 Pistoia, Synod of, 187
 Pius V, St., 272, 286 sq.
 Pius VI, 187
 Pius VII, 174
 Pius IX, ix, 174
 Pius X, 174
 Pius XI, 193, 206
 Plato, 185
 Pole, Card., 277, 282
 Pollard, 284 n.
 Pollen, 290
 Polycarp, St., 152, 181
 Pope, Fr. Hugh, vi
*Pope of Rome and the Eastern
 Popes*, 271
 Possidius, 237
Praemunire, 276
 Prayer Book, First, 278, 280
 — Second, 281, 286, 288
 Primianus, 224, 237
Primitive Catholicism, 292
Princes of His People, 26 n.
*Principles of Catholic Apolo-
 getics*, 291
Prise de CP. par les Turcs, 1453,
 270
 Procter, 290
 Proculeianus, 219
 Protasius, 237
 Protestantism, viii, 22, 165 sqq.,
 185, 266, 269, 273, 277,
 279 sq., 282 sqq.
Psalm against the Donatist Party,
 218
Psalms, 12, 17, 72
Psellus, 270
*Pseudo-Ambrose, Sermo de Sala-
 mone*, 186
 Puritans, 288
 Purpureus, 215

Querelles des images, 270

- Raccolta di Concordati*, 292
 Rambaud, 270
 Ratramnus Corbeiensis, vii,
 251 n.
 Revenna, 124
 Reformation, 87 sq., 139, 184 sq.,
 187
Reformation and the Eucharist,
 293
*Religion of Protestants a safe way
 to Salvation*, 139
 Renaissance, 185, 272, 275 sq.
 Renan, 150
 Resurrection, 62, 159, 232
Reunion, 293
Revue Biblique, 239
 Ridley, 280, 283 sq.
 Robber-council, 120
 Rogatists, 223
 Rogatus, 227 n.
Romans, 12, 40, 43, 50, 59 n., sq.,
 62 n., sqq., 70 n., 73 n.
 Romanus, Emperor, 262 n.
 Rome, 33, 38, 40, 44, 54, 89,
 94 sqq., 101, 104 sq., 107 sqq.,
 112 sqq., 123 sq., 126 sq., 150,
 181, 183, 187, 208, 216, 222,
 226, 230, 233 n., 241 sqq.,
 247 sqq., 257 sqq., 261 sqq.,
 265, 272 sqq., 277, 279, 282,
 286 sqq.
 Russian Church, 142, 261, 267 sq.
 Ryan, 291
 SABATIER, 21
 Sadducees, 5
*St. Augustine and African
 Church Divisions*, 239
St. Augustine and the Donatists,
 239
 St. David's, 280
 St. Sophia, 263, 266
 Samaria, 15 sq., 21, 41
 Sanhedrin, 10, 59
 Santabarenus, 260
 Sapphira, 201
 Sardica, Council of, 220 sqq.
 Sardinia, 123
 Satan, 55
 Sathas, 270
 Savonarola, 185
 Scandinavia, 288
 Schanz, 291
 Schism, of the West, The Great,
 184, 272
 — The Byzantine, viii
 Schlumberger, 270
 Scotland, 279, 288
 Scribes, 4 sq.
 Septuagint, 2
 Serbia, 266
 Sergius, 262 n.
 Sertillanges, 291
 Sheehan, Archbp., 291
Shepherd of Hermas, 160
 Sibernagl, 271
 Sicily, 123
 Sidon, 159
 Simeon, 23
 Simpson, 290
Singulari quadam, ix
 Sinai, 9, 36
 Sion, 54 sq.
 Siricius, St., 116
*Situation Religieuse de l'Afrique
 Romaine*, 239
 Skylitzes, 260
 Smith, Fr. Sydney, ix
 Smithfield, 285
 Smyth, 283, 290
 Society of Jesus, 207
 Socinians, 186
 Sodom, 15 sq.
 Son of Man, 23
 Spain, 115, 118, 122, 125, 222
 Sparrow Simpson, 239
 Spiritism, 136
State and the Church, 291
 Stebbing, 292
 Stephen, St., 59
 Stephen I, St., 104, 106 sqq.
 Stephen V, 258
Story of the Catholic Church, 292
 Strassbourg, 279, 284 sq.
 Strype, 290
 Stylianus, 257
 Suarez, 206 n.
 Summer School, vi, x sq.

Suvermerian, 284 n.
 Sylvanus, 215
 Symeon Magistros, 259 sq.
 Synagogue, 6 sq., 10, 41, 59 sq.
Synthèse Anti-Donatiste de St. Augustin, 239
 Syracuse, 248

TABESSA, 214 n.
Tablet, viii
 Tertullian, 98, 152 sq., 182
 Theodore the Studite, St., 247
 Theodosius I, 240
 Theodosius II, 241
Theologica de Ecclesia, 174, 291
 Theophylact, 262 n.
Thessalonians, 26 n., 62 n., sqq., 70 n., 206 n.
 Thirty-nine Articles, 133, 287
 Thomas, St., vii, 73, 170, 184
 Thrace, 242
Times Literary Supplement, 284 n.
 Timothy, St., 47
 — *Epistles to*, 40, 48, 52, 62 n., sqq., 70 n., 193, 201
 Titus, 46
Tolerance, 292
 Tolstoism, 136
 Tondini, 271
 Transjordanian, 159
 Transubstantiation, 137, 284, 288
 Trent, Council of, 89, 282, 286
 Trullo, Council in, 244, 246
 Trypho, 262 n.
 Tunstall, 276
 Turks, 240, 265
 Turner, 216 n.
 Tyconius, 214 n., 223, 227
 Tyre, 159

UNIAT Churches, 79
Uniate Eastern Churches, 293
 Unitarians, 283

VALENTINIAN III, 117
 Van Noort, 192
 Vatican, 247
 — Council of, 91, 97, 127, 185
 Vermeersch, 292
 Victor, St., 38 sq., 95 sq., 110
 Vidal, 205 n.
 Vigilus, 128, 255
 Vincent of Colusita, 236
 Vincent the Rogatist, 227
Vindication of the Bull "Apostolicae Curae," ix
 Virgil, 185
 Vogt, 270
 Voltaire, 150
 Von Ruville, 292
Vray Systeme de l'Eglise, 139

WALKER, 293
 Ward, L., 292
 Ward, W. G., 192
 Warham, 279
 Wernz, 205 n.
Westminster Version, 47
 White Russia, 207
 Will, 270
 Windle, 292
 Wiseman, Card., 228, 239
 Wittenberg, 185
 Wolsey, Card., 276
 Woodlock, 293

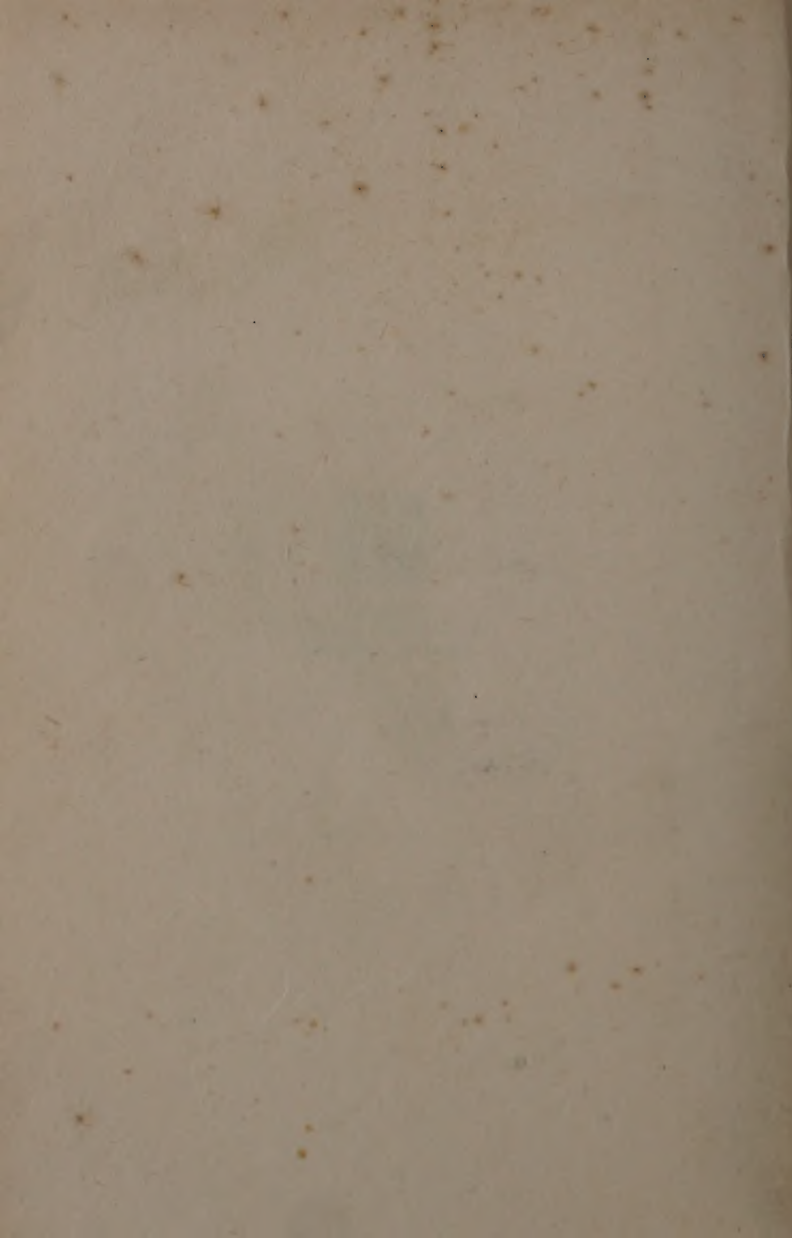
XYSTUS, St., 109

YAHWEH (*cf.* Jehovah)

ZACHARY, 23
Zachary, 11
Zeitschrift, Byz., 261
 Zeno, 241
 Ziwsa, 227 n.
 Zurich, 280, 285
 Zwingli, 273, 282



PRINTED BY
W. HEFFER AND SONS LTD.
CAMBRIDGE, ENGLAND.



212.08

L 356

24753

LATTEY, C., S. J.

AUTHOR

The Church

TITLE

Cambridge Summer School Papers 1927

DATE DUE

BORROWER'S NAME

Busch NOV 26

Vaughan FEB 25

Hicks

Collins

Brendel

Mera

Cand

OCT 2

24753

